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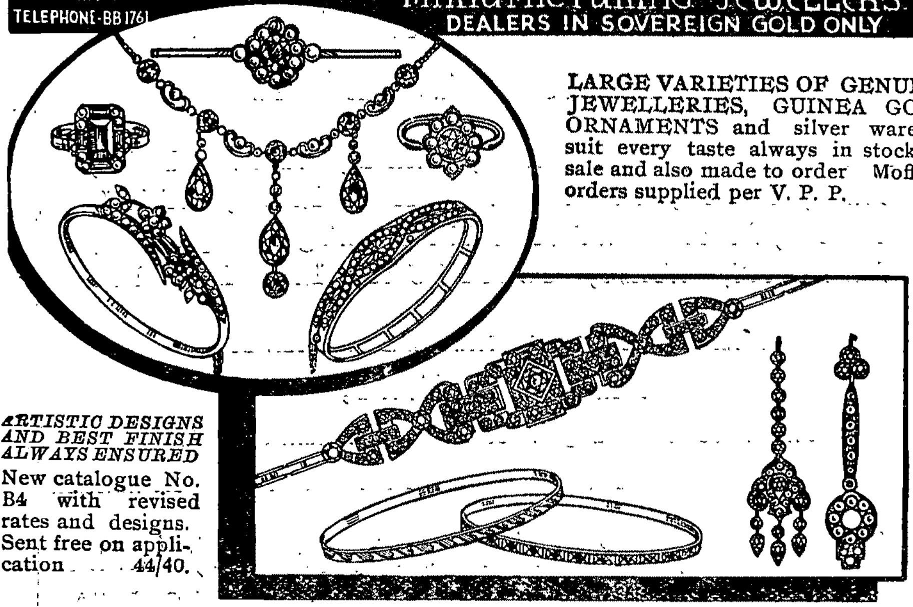

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APPENDIX A

RÔLE OF UNIVERSITIES IN NATIONAL LIFE

DR. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE, M.A., B.L., D.LITT.,
BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A.

I consider it a proud privilege to be invited to address the Convocation of your great University, and I thank you sincerely for the honour which you have bestowed on me. Your University cannot claim a long history bearin[illegible] marks of the toil of generations but within the short period of its existence it has secured a fame and a reputation peculiar to itself which have justly won for it an abiding place in the hearts of millions of our countrymen. Yours is a great seat of learning that has sprung into life amidst surroundings which remind us of all that is best in Indian civilization. Your renowned city was the metropolis of a Philosopher-King of the Upanishadic Age and the home of Parsvanatha, the celebrated Tirthankara of the Jainas. It stands in the vicinity of the holy steps where Gautama Buddha preached his first sermon, where Sankaracharyya distinguished himself in Dialectics and Philosophy, where Tulsidas wrote his immortal songs, and where Sree Chaitanya distributed the nectar of divine love to high and low. Indeed, that great son of India whose name will for ever be enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen, not only as the most illustrious of your founders but also as one of the makers of New India, could not have selected a more appropriate site for the Hindu University of Hindusthan. May your University produce sages like Silabhadra and ardent missionaries like Dipankara who made this country the intellectual centre of the East and carried the torch of Indian civilization beyond the heights of the Himalayas and across the shores of the Southern Seas! Advancing years have now left their mark on the health of Pandit Malaviya, and I voice the sentiments of all sections of Indians throughout the country when I pray that he may yet be spared for a long number of years to see the ever-increasing development of his beloved University as an active and progressive seat of learning dedicated to the service of the nation. The present distinguished occupant of the office of Vice-Chancellor commands universal respect and confidence and the destinies of this University could not have been entrusted to a worthier person, whether from this country or from abroad.

I shall not attempt to analyse in detail the activities of your University but I must pay my tribute to the solid progress you have made in diverse branches of knowledge, literary, philosophical, scientific and technical. Scholars have flocked to your portals from distant parts of India, attracted by the richness and variety of facilities offered by you. The reputation of some of your departments, specially in the domain of science and engineering, has gone far beyond the limits of this province. If large and generous benefactions have enabled you to erect imposing and commodious buildings which have helped to create a beautiful city of your own, you have also been able to attract to your halls a long line of devoted teachers who have considered it their sacred duty to dedicate themselves to the cause of knowledge. I know financial difficulties have often been a matter of deep anxiety to the authorities of the University, and it is all the greater reason that one should gratefully acknowledge the spirit of sacrifice that has animated the members of your staff who have cheerfully carried on their work, often in spite of great financial uncertainties. I hope the State will do its obvious duty towards this great national institution and, by giving you the necessary financial relief, will enable you to march along, with vigour and courage, on the path of progress and expansion.

Your University has paid and will pay due homage to the cause of spread of knowledge in its diverse branches but I would also ask you to fulfil in an abundant measure your obligations for the revival of the glory of Hindu culture and civilization, not from a narrow or bigoted point of view but for strengthening [illegible] very root of nationalism in this country. In this great land of ours where twenty-eight crores of Hindus live, the word Hindu sometimes stinks in the nostrils of many a son of India. A re-orientation of Hindu culture and ideals, of which your present Vice-Chancellor is one of the ablest exponents, will not only help to bring back to India that political freedom which she has lost but will also raise the soul of mankind throughout the earth to a higher level of thought and action.

As a University you have a great rôle to play in re-shaping the destinies of the people of your country. We must bear in mind the cardinal principle that we want to see developed and trained through education the whole nature of our *alumni*, intellectual, moral and physical, not merely for the purpose of qualifying for any special calling but to bring up good citizens, useful members of society, men, true and fearless, capable of bearing their part with credit in public and private life. Such University-trained men are needed in rich abundance in India today.

Interested persons often try to raise a controversy about the relative claims of elementary education and higher education in India, forgetting the fact that the University expresses the corporate longing of the people for the higher things of the spirit. As University men we want that elementary education should spread from one part of the country to the other and that provision should be made for this purpose in a liberal and unstinted manner. Indeed, the failure of Government, which has remained in dominant authority in India for more than a century and a half, to discharge this obligation, is regarded as one of the black spots in its administration. Let us not, however, forget that eminent thinkers [illegible] countries where elementary education is both free and compulsory have felt that such an instruction, unless crowned by something which is higher, is not only barren but may even be dangerous. It is not enough to teach our democracy to read unless we also teach it to think. It is the ignorant and unthinking mind, with its trivialities, its uncertainties, and its clouded vision, from which we have most to fear.

Another class of critics in our country often advocates curtailment of University education in view of the increasing acuteness of the problem of unemployment. The Universities of India have on their rolls a little over one lakh of students, which constitute an insignificant proportion of India's population of thirty-five crores. It is not feasible for the University to find employment for all its alumni, although the University should do all it can to establish close contact with those men and institutions that control the fields of commerce, business and industry. These must know and understand one another and work in harmony for the larger welfare of the community. It is indeed one of the primary duties of the State, more than that of anybody else, to solve the problem of unemployment. In a country such as ours, where so much still remains to be done, where more than thirty crores of people are still illiterate and the task of spreading the light of knowledge alone may occupy the energy of tens of thousands of educated youths, where raw materials still remain in perpetual abundance and are often at the mercy of exploiters and adventurers, where industrial expansion absorbing the valued services of thousands of skilled technicians yet receives only half-hearted recognition from the State, where the vital agencies of national defence such as the army, the navy and the air-force have yet to expand on an all-India basis, thrown open to all classes of people, free from artificial restrictions—in a country such as ours it is amazing that unemployment should stare ardent educated Indian youths in the face and that unpatriotic demands should be made for arbitrary restriction of higher education. It is true that no country can have a truly national system of education unless it enjoys the blessings of freedom. But let the Universities within their limited sphere do their duty with courage and foresight and so readjust and reorganise their courses of study that they may worthily meet the manifold requirements of our country in diverse fields of public service, social, industrial, economic and political.

An important subject to which I should like to refer is the progress of science and industry in this country. Faced as we are with international conflicts of gigantic proportions, it does not require much imagination to see that the scientific and industrial development of a country is essential not only for its prosperity but also for its very existence. In this sphere the Universities in advanced countries, backed by liberal and active support from their Governments, have played a vital part. The industrial development of a country is, however, conditioned not only by research but also by the all-important questions of finance and national policy. In Germany, as is well-known, the intimate co-operation between Government, the Universities and the industrial organisations resulted in a very rapid development, although the industrial revolution came to that country considerably later than in Great Britain. Both in Japan and in Soviet Russia, it is the driving force of Government, mobilising and co-ordinating all ther esources of the [illegible]ntries, that has led to their phenomenal industrial progress in recent years.

In this country, by contrast, we have a tragic story to tell. The Universities and the industrialists with their limited means have been ploughing practically lonely furrows. The University laboratories, particularly, have worked under great handicaps, which have been only partially lightened by the generous donations of a few benefactors. It is absolutely clear that unless the Government of the country pursues a settled and irrevocable policy of industrialisation and adopts co-ordinated measures for the furtherance of this object, industrial progress in this country can at best be only fitful. The danger of this industrial backwardness does not require any emphasis today. Even the Famine Commission of 1880 recognised that the problem of the dreadful poverty of the Indian people could not be tackled by improvement in agriculture alone, but required also the improvement of industries. The War of 1914-18 again threw into relief the pathetic industrial helplessness of India and the Indian Industrial Commission was appointed in 1916 to make remedial recommendations. But this Commission was specifically debarred from entering into the question of tariffs or any other aspect of the fiscal policy of the Government of India. " The part of Hamlet must be totally omitted," Sir Frederick Nicholson honestly declared in his statement to the Commission. The Commission, nevertheless, made some fairly comprehensive recommendations within the province allotted to it. Although the able minute given separately by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya showed that even these fell short of public expectation and had some serious defects, the[illegible] was no indication that they were going to be implemented by Government. A series of conferences met but the situation remained practically where it had been. It was indeed clear that Government had no heart in a policy of industrialisation, and it has required the war of 1939 to quicken Government again to some semblance of action. The Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, which was long overdue, has been set up with a grant of Rs. 5 lakhs, which is all too meagre for research in Government laboratories and the Universities. The corresponding organisation in Great Britain was set up in 1916 and it now enjoys an annual grant of a crore of rupees. Even the National Research Council in Canada, which has a population of only a crore and a quarter, has got an annual grant of about 13 lakhs of rupees from its Government.

It is not yet clear whether Government, in the midst of this deepening crisis, still realises that the industrialisation of India is the *sine qua non* for the safety of India, that the rejection of a full-fledged policy of industrialisation would be tantamount to a betrayal of the people of this country. Our Universities have their brains, their laboratories and their workshops, and in a very large measure they can deliver the goods. Benares has amply demonstrated this in her own limited sphere. But where is the evidence that Government is eager or even prepared to mobilise these resources for a policy of industrialisation, which, in order to be effective, must not be confined to munitions industries alone but to all heavy and light industries necessary both in peace and in war ? Are we sure that the Eastern Group Conference will assist this all-round industrialisation of India ? Or is India going to supply chiefly the raw mate[illegible]s, and perhaps steel, for industries to be built up in countries other than India ? And is this going to be done in the name of rationalisation and co-ordination of war effort ? The other day the leader of an important delegation to this Conference suggested, with reference to the aircraft industry, that since it was already developed in Australia, the best rationalisation of war effort would be effected by the expansion of that industry in Australia and not so much by creation of aircraft industries *de novo*. There is a genuine apprehension that the industrialisation of India may still be prevented by vested interests and by the inertia of the old policy. Great things can yet be achieved if only the Government of India would realise the danger of adhering to the policy of retaining India as only a market for manufactured goods, of exploiting her raw materials for the benefit of foreign capital, and of regarding Indians as only hewers of wood and drawers of water. If Government, the Universities and the industrial organisations are made to participate in a national policy of intensive industrialisation, none can resist the early attainment of India's economic freedom. Deputation of a few hundred Indians for training in British factories can hardly meet our needs and aspirations.

If the State policy hitherto pursued has hampered industrial progress on rational lines consistent with our vast resources and national requirements, there is another direction in which much fuller co-operation is possible, and is indeed essential, between the State and the Indian Universities, and this relates to the preparation of our youths for efficient and adequate military training in accordance with the needs of modern warfare. It is not for me to stress here t[illegible] history of the control of the Indianisation of the so-called Indian army. But I believe there is none today who will deny that the policy of keeping Indians unarmed and unprepared for national defence has not only put this country in a highly perilous state but has practically emasculated the manhood of India. Indian Universities should demand with one voice provision for compulsory military training fully related to mechanised warfare. The existing arrangements for the University Training Corps constitute a most niggardly acknowledgment of the rights of the Indian youth. Only the other day one of the able representatives of your province in the Council of State raised the question of reorganising the University Training Corps as mechanised units. The characteristic reply of the Defence Department was " heart-felt sympathy " with the proposal but " great practical difficulties " in accepting it.

It is not want of funds or want of resources that constitutes the stumbling block. Such difficulties are not insuperable. It is the absence of the will, it is that old deep-rooted distrust and apprehension of possible repercussions, that stand in the way of taking effective steps for militarising the youth of India. What has England not done for her own sake in her home territory since 1939 ? Are not stupendous difficulties melting away before the call of national service and solidarity? Today the European war threatens the destruction of civilization itself. Whatever the merits or demerits of the respective combatants, philosophy, logic or reason will not weigh with any of them at a time when moral forces have almost ceased to function, and that Power will be the ultimate victor which has at its disposal the largest supply of brain-power and those forces of defence and offence which the knowledge and skill of man can invent. We are repeatedly told that India may become a part of the war zone sooner than many of us expect. If that be so, it is essential that the defence of India against foreign aggression and from internal chaos should be well-organised and broad-based on gigantic efforts of Indians themselves. Some progress has been made recently but we are satisfied neither with the extent of the arrangements nor, what is more vital, with the policy behind them. The Indian Universities should within their limited sphere be taken into full confidence and the youth of India should be thoroughly trained to defend their hearth and home just as the children of every free country claim to do.

A good deal of confusion prevails today about the ethical doctrine of *Ahimsa*. There is no doubt *Ahimsa* is one of the cardinal virtues taught by Indian thinkers of all denominations throughout the ages. "*Dharma*" consists in *Ahimsa*, proclaims the Mahabharata :

Ahimsa laḳshano Dharma
Iti dharmavido viduh.

"*Ahimsa* confers immortality," declares the Code of Manu. The doctrine of *Ahimsa* is a necessary corollary to the Hindu belief that the supreme spirit pervades the universe (*Sarvam Brāhmamidam jagat*), that everything is strung on the Blessed Lord as rows of gems upon a thread (*Sarvamidam protam sūtre maniganā iva*), and that welfare of all beings (*Sarvabhūtahita*) is a sacred duty. *Ahimsa* doubtless implies abstention from selfish and aggressive violence. But does it signify inertia and pacifism under all circumstances ? Did not Sree Ramachandra, so kind to righteous men and women, including even Nishadas and Savaras, wage a war to punish the arrogant evil-doer who insulted womanhood and violated the sanctity of the peaceful hermitage ? Were not "*Pānchajanyasya nirghosho Gāndivasya cha nisvanah*" meant to strike terror into the hearts of those whose pride and conceit would not allow them to do justice and repair wrongs ? Did not Sree Chaitanya roar like Narasimha to restrain the bigot and the oppressor ? Did not the great Asoka himself lay as much stress on *Parākrama* (prowess) as on *Ahimsa* and declare in one of his Rock Edicts that there was a limit to his forbearance? "Should any one do him wrong, that must be borne with by His Sacred Majesty *so far as it can possibly be borne with*." Even Buddhist theologians prescribed condign punishment for treachery and mischief-making, typified by the career of Devadatta. Readers of the Chachnama need not be told what pusillanimity masquerading as religious quietism may do to endanger the life and liberty of a people and destroy its morale.

If I have understood the history of my country aright, a pacifism that refuses to take up arms against injustice and makes one a passive spectator of oppression and aggression, does not represent the real teaching of India. Let us not forget that valour was greatly esteemed by the sages and free rulers of India in olden times. When valour languished, the entire polity weakened. When the sword and the book of knowledge kept together, justice, equity and liberty ruled the affairs of the State. We want to see the reappearance of the ancient spirit of valour tempered with a spiritual wisdom consistent with our genius and present needs, which alone can recover civilization out of the chaotic condition of the modern age.

We live in an age when the need of *Parāḳrama*, ceaseless exertion, courage and valour, in all spheres of activity affecting the public weal, is more imperative than ever. The menace of invasion from without is within the bounds of possibility. Disruptive forces are at work within the country itself. A nation can only save itself by its own energy. But energy and strength hardly come to a people that does not enjoy the blessings of unity and freedom. Unity need not imply uniformity in every respect. In a country like India, with its huge extent, teeming population and diverse culture, a dull uniformity is not to be encouraged. India is traditionally a land of village republics, and local autonomy has had many noble champions whose patriotism and public spirit are beyond question. But accentuation of differences cannot make for strength. A divided India was always a prey to the foreign invader from the days of Alexander and Mahmud of Ghazni to those of Vasco da Gama, Dupleix and Clive. There is much disharmony and disunity in India today. Communal differences have taken such an acute turn that fantastic claims for the vivisection of our Motherland are widely asserted, backed by tacit encouragement of the powers that rule the destinies of India today.

Political and social justice requires, not the disintegration of a country and destruction or humiliation of a class which shows initiative, intelligence and drive, but equality of opportunity for all, genuine freedom for self-fulfilment, in which all men irrespective of caste or creed may share. Slavery withered in the atmosphere of England when Catholic and Protestant, Anglo-Saxon and Jew, Northumbrian and Kentishman obtained equal citizenship. Can freedom flourish where religious and racial groups are encouraged to clamour for separate existence as segregated communities, and majorities are set up by Statute unalterable by an appeal to the general body of citizens? We have to sweep away the cobwebs of mistrust and the miasma of hatred if India is to fulfil her destiny and play her part worthily in the Commonwealth of Free Nations.

We are passing through momentous times and, situated as we are, we know not what the future has in store for us. There are obvious limitations within which the Universities of a country such as ours have to function. At this critical period in the history of India it is our duty, first and foremost, to give that training to our youths which will fit them to uphold, with dignity and courage, with faith and fervour, the flag of Indian liberty. Let the Universities hold aloft the torch of learning and make their students devoted to those subjects of study which will make them useful citizens and amply widen their horizon. Let our students become physically strong and morally unbreakable, never forgetting the eternal teachings of our great masters that, even when the body of man is chained, his soul may still remain free and unconquered. Let Benares bring together twenty-eight crores of Hindus, not for the purpose of oppressing the weak and the depressed, but for uniting the Indian people and laying the foundations of the spirit of that true democracy which signifies a Government of the people, for the people, by the people. Political subjection has not yet completely destroyed the soul of India, but the perennial truths of Indian religion and philosophy have to be saved from the clutches of fear and superstition which dominate the popular mind, and the hearts of all, the rich and the poor alike, have to be blended together so that love for truth, righteousness, justice and equality that constitute India's great heritage may once again reign supreme.

Today nations intoxicated with power claim to justify their international endeavours and actions, specially in relation to their conduct towards weaker countries which they desire to dominate, on self-deceptive grounds of either God-gifted trusteeship or of elevation to a higher level of thought and achievement. Let us declare without fear and hesitation that to us justice and liberty as propounded by them are meaningless if they do not include their willingness to do justice to and honour the liberty of other men and other nations. It is not so much what our students learn, not so much what they know, as what they are, which should concern us. Do they love liberty, love it so much that they will fight for it, die for it and will accord it to others as well as claim it for themselves? Do they love their country, and not merely say they love it; do they love liberty and justice with a fervour that transcends their desire for ease and wealth and position ? Let us remember that nations live or die according to the character of the people. Wealth, arms, munitions, disciplined armies and navies are of splendid service, but the character of the people, the character into which the youth is growing, determines the life or death of the nation. An Indian politician of repute, in answer to the question as to what would happen if England lost the war, observed the other day that God who has so long protected India would then have to protect both England and India. But we do not wish to treat the Almighty merely as a useful Palladium. Heaven helps only those who help themselves. History affords us examples of great peoples who fell but rose again out of [illegible] sheer determination to win back their lost freedom, without which they thought life was not worth living. "Liberty," says Manu, the great Law-giver of our race, " is happiness and dependence is misery." *Sarvam paravasam duhkham, Sarvamātmavasam sukham.* Do we share the same feelings with equal intensity and devotion? With our ancient heritage, with the spirit of India still ennobling the mind of man, with our vast resources of man power and buried wealth, let a supreme effort be made by all classes of our people to organise themselves effectively for the liberation of our country, and in this task of mighty reconstruction let the trained youth of India heroically play a conspicuous part, not by mere surrender to emotions but tempered by a keen sense of practical wisdom and a thorough and efficient preparation, physical, moral and intellectual.

Let us pledge ourselves, body and soul, to the preservation of the noblest ideals of our race and culture and a life-long devotion to the cause of that enlightened liberty which a great seer has worshipped in words worthy to be written in gold, that will remain engraved in the heart of mankind for all ages to come:

" *O Liberty, thou art the god of my idolatry!*

Thou art the only deity that hatest bended knees. In thy vast and unwalled temple, beneath the roofless dome, star-gemmed and luminous with suns, thy worshippers stand erect! They do not cringe, or crawl, or bend their foreheads to the earth. The dust has never borne the impress of their lips. Upon thy altars mothers do not sacrifice their babes, nor men their rights. Thou askest naught from man except the things that good men hate—the whip, the chain, the dungeon key. Thou hast no popes, no priests, who stand between their fellow-men and thee. Thou carest not for foolish forms, or selfish prayers At thy sacred shrine hypocrisy does not bow, virtue does not tremble, superstition's feeble tapers do not burn, but Reason holds aloft her inextinguishable torch whose holy light will one day flood the world." *

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* Address delivered at the Annual Convocation of the Benares Hindu University, 1940.

SOME FUNCTIONS OF A UNIVERSITY

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I deem it a great honour to be invited to deliver the Convocation Address of your University. It is true your University ranks as one of the younger seats of learning in this country. Yet one cannot overlook the peculiar circumstances leading to your foundation which brought within your jurisdiction many institutions that have for a long number of years steadily contributed their share to the cause of educational progress. If your University has known only thirteen summers, its habitation in this historic city of Agra, whose ancient and mediaeval associations are indeed unforgettable, gives you a dignity and a prominence which have a value all their own. The sacred river which glides past the battlements of your city carries our memory back to the heroic age of India, to the days of the Mahabharata and even to that of the Rig-Veda itself. The ancient castle of the city figured in the *qasidas* of the Ghaznavid period. The noble town which grew round it flourished under the fostering care of the greatest of the Great Moguls who founded the famous fort of cut red stone, the like of which those who had travelled over the world in the days of his son, could not point out. But it was left to his famous grandson to adorn the city with its brightest of ornaments—one of the seven wonders of the world—a crowning tribute in marble to India's womanhood. The land round the Taj was also the birthplace of Faizi and Abul Fazl. For years it was the residence of Tansen and the resting place of many an eminent personage of the Mogul Period. A University founded in a city with such noble associations has a responsibility to the Motherland which needs no emphasis.

The last twenty years have witnessed the creation of several unitary teaching and residential Universities in different parts of India and admirable work is being done in many of them to advance the cause of higher education and research. The main feature of your University must, however, continue to be of the affiliating type, and while the colleges should be encouraged to carry on undergraduate teaching work in the various faculties, I would earnestly plead that you should organise in full co-operation with one another important schemes of original research consistent with the requirements of your province. They should embrace each of the great fields of human thought and achievement. It should be possible to develop the scheme in such a manner as to avoid duplication of work and permit a fair distribution of subjects in accordance with the conditions and circumstances of your institutions. I am well aware that such a scheme will need for its materialisation very large resources in the way of apparatus, libraries, laboratories and museums, which are all indispensable to modern higher education as elaborate costly machines are to modern industry. As higher education in every part of the civilised world is financed generously, if not lavishly, by the State, you must appeal to Government for increased grants to enable you to discharge your main function. It is my firm conviction that, with the resources of the affiliated colleges properly organised and stimulated, your University can secure the assistance of the instructing staff and scholars who would be willing to devote themselves whole-heartedly to the sacred cause of advancement of the bounds of knowledge.

Universities in British India owed their foundation mainly to a desire on the part of the authorities to secure the loyal services of administrators and service-holders who could keep going the complex machinery of a bureaucratic Government in an orderly and efficient manner. There was also the idea of spreading in a conquered territory, through the agency of the Universities, a system of Western education which in those days of benevolent despotism was regarded by the rulers as a path of duty and the sure means of elevating India to what they thought to be a higher standard of life. Universities were not established as seats of learning nor was education attempted to be organised for the highest development of Indian culture and civilization. Nearly half a century after the establishment of the first University in India, the ideal of a teaching University where scholars might meet for the dissemination and advancement of knowledge was first formulated. But the general sysem of education was not even then closely linked up with those essential problems which called for early fulfilment, so that India might reach her destiny through education and regain her supremacy in the domain of culture and enlightenment as also in the social, economic and political spheres of activity.

While I shall be the last person to minimise the value and importance of the work which Indian Universities have done to advance educational progress in this country, to spread wholesome ideas among the people, to widen the outlook of millions of men, to instil in their minds fundamental ideas of progress and liberty, and to rouse the national consciousness of the citizens, I shall yet say that the time has come when a re-orientation of University education is urgently called for in order to suit the changing conditions of our country. Our Universities should no longer continue to be regarded principally as training grounds for the professions and services. The professions are overcrowded and recruitment to public services is now based on a variety of considerations where merit does not always play the most prominent part.

The colleges should provide at the base what has been known for generations as a sound liberal education that is catholic, expansive, free from narrowness and bigotry in ideas or doctrines, appropriate for a broad and enlightened mind. That education should be imparted through the medium of our own languages. The acceptance of this principle may raise initial difficulties but such difficulties have been overcome in free countries and India must also face and surmount them. In Eire, the Irish language, once said to be unsuited to the needs of modern civilisation, has been introduced with success. This is of fundamental value in the true building up of national life. It is more than a mere means of communicating ideas : it is the expression of the national spirit. The other day a vigorous attack was launched on the Nazi policy of attempting to destroy the language and literature of some of the countries over which Hitler holds his sway today. The critic rightly expressed his abhorrence of what constitutes a death-blow to the culture of those countries. In India also, for more than a century, education

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imparted through the medium of a foreign language has unduly dominated its academic life and it has now produced a class of men who are unconsciously so de-nationalised that any far-reaching proposal for the recognition of the Indian languages as the vehicle of teaching and examination up to the highest University stage is either ridiculed as impossible or branded as reactionary. But I plead earnestly for the acceptance of this fundamental principle not on account of any blind adherence to things that I claim as my own but out of a firm conviction that the fullest development of the mind of a learner is possible only by this natural approach and also that by this process alone can there be a great revival of the glory and richness of the Indian languages.

A problem that has presented difficulties in India but which to my mind is certainly avoidable relates to the recognition of different Indian languages by the Universities. In my University, elaborate provisions have been in existence for more than thirty years for the recognition of all the important Indian languages. At the post-Matriculation stage, a candidate coming from outside Bengal is encouraged to offer his own mother-tongue at his examination. Important Indian languages other than Bengali have been included for the M.A. Examination also. At the Matriculation stage, non-Bengalees are not compelled to accept Bengali as the medium of their examination. Hindi, Urdu and Assamese are recognised as media along with Bengali and have been given the same importance as the language of the province itself. Others are allowed the option to offer English as their medium. I do believe that the question of the study of important Indian languages should not present any difficulty whatsoever in any Indian University, only if we remember the cardinal point that, in whichever corner of the vast country we might reside, we are bound to one another by ties of brotherhood and comradeship, and in generally helping one another in the field of education, we are but strengthening the foundation of that great Indian nationhood, the full attainment of which has been the dream of generations of Indians irrespective of caste, creed or community.

While I plead for the due recognition of our own languages, I recognise that English should remain a compulsory second-language and that it should be taught to all, mainly for the purpose of a correct expression of ideas and assimilation of knowledge to be gathered from books written in that great language. Provision should also be made for the study of other important languages, both Eastern and Western.

A thorough examination of the syllabuses and the courses of study, not from the standpoint of any one individual subject but in the light of the requirements of the entire educational structure, is also called for. We are pressed by our expert advisers, each speaking with unconcealed loyalty to his own special subject, to store the minds of our youths with knowledge. But what is sometimes forgotten is that the capacity of their minds is limited and knowledge that would be useless or superfluous in after-life must make room for that which is necessary and useful. Well did a distinguished scholar once observe that we shall not be able to apply our stock of knowledge with that readiness which the exigencies of life demand, if our mental store-house is like an ill-arranged lumber-room.

We have, therefore, to keep in mind the need for a liberal and useful education, on which will be raised the superstructure of such departments of study as will produce men and women trained in diverse branches of knowledge, theoretical and practical, which will make them fit persons in the service of the nation. The question has been and will be how far and how best we can combine education, that is, the bringing out of the faculties with instruction, that is, the imparting of valuable knowledge. If we can induce the right mood, achievement of the purpose will not be difficult. Each University should adequately reflect the peculiar needs of the country and the area it specially serves and should produce men who will not add further to the waste of human materials but possess both knowledge and culture so as to be absorbed in worthy occupations. To put it differently, we can say that true education should include the local idea, the national idea and the international idea.

A problem that has recently agitated the minds of persons interested in education relates to the relationship of students with colleges and Universities. In our country, from time immemorial, the teacher and the student stood in the same relationship as did a father and his son. In modern days, the atmosphere in educational institutions does not always lead to the formation of a healthy social life between the teacher and the student. This is all the more conspicuous in non-residential institutions where opportunities for mutual contact are necessarily limited. The situation often becomes embarrassing to educational authorities when exciting political questions agitate the minds of students and directly influence their conduct within the colleges, although the authorities have no responsibility whatsoever for such situations or developments. My intimate association with the student community makes me assert unhesitatingly that we should miss no opportunities of discussing with them all those problems that agitate their minds, even though they may have no direct connection with their academic work.. This close association and frank exchange of ideas soon melt away feelings of shyness and aloofness from their minds, and whatever their ultimate viewpoint, it creates an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence whose value cannot be over-estimated.

Unfortunate disturbances, such as strikes and noisy demonstrations, are becoming a common feature in educational institutions and this tendency should be discouraged in the interest of all concerned. If the controversy relates to a matter affecting the internal affairs of an institution and cannot be amicably solved by the college itself, the final decision should be left to a representative University Board. I see no reason why the University Regulations should not make the decision of such a body binding on the parties concerned. I know this interference on the part of the University may not always be welcomed by all educational institutions. But let me impress upon them that I would gladly accept, first and foremost, any satisfactory solution by the college itself without interference from anybody else. If this is not possible, I would much rather leave the decision in the hands of an impartial body of academic men than permit the disturbance to spread and be exploited by persons who may be least concerned with the welfare of the institution or of the students affected.

As regards disturbances due to extraneous reasons, I would beg of the students not to make the educational institutions the forum for expressing their disapproval of questions of public policy which might deeply stir their minds. I am not one of those who favour University students remaining aloof from the burning questions of the day. I would not, however, like them to be engrossed in party politics, for I believe they should maintain their independence of outlook and zealously cultivate that spirit of clear and critical thinking, that free power of reasoning, which should be their main asset as they enter upon public life on the completion of their educational career. But nothing should prevent them from an active study and discussion of all important political questions of the day, and even, should they so desire, sympathising with particular schools of thought which they individually or collectively might choose to support. With good-will and understanding on both sides the University and College Unions should prove a healthy training ground for future citizenship. Frankly speaking, occasional outbursts of youthful feelings should not worry educational administrators. But when they are allowed to interfere with the regular routine of academic work, or create deadlocks on issues, small and insignificant, they become a disease which, if unchecked, will destroy the very foundation of that strong disciplined character which must be an essential possession of all young men and women anxious to dedicate their lives to the cause of their country's liberty.

I have noticed recently a notification issued by a Provincial Government laying down severe penalties for the maintenance of discipline amongst students. One threat held out is that such students as may come under the purview of the order will be debarred from Government service. To my mind, threats of punitive action will defeat the very object which the authors of the order themselves allege to have in view. Besides, this particular threat is an idle one. For today admission to public services is controlled by various non-academic considerations and in any case it absorbs only a fraction of University-trained youths. Again, no words can be too strong to condemn any policy of espionage which encourages secret reports of the activities of the students to be supplied by the teachers themselves. Any attempted transformation of the free and sacred temple of learning into a branch of the Intelligence Department is a sure method of destroying the soul of India's manhood.

Enforced discipline such as these processes imply must make room for discipline from within. Modern psychology tells us that the mind of man cannot be built up by superimposed ideas and instructions without regard to its own living impulses. We shall be untrue to our work as teachers and administrators if we fail to make the right appeal to the student community and make them realise that the maintenance of sound discipline in educational institutions is a duty not cast on officers and teachers alone but must readily be shared by the students themselves. The mass student-mind is sound and pure. In every country the youth adores the spirit of patriotism. The time of youth is the time for initiative and enthusiasm, for that disregard of consequences which makes men willing to undertake great things, the time when a man can do great things that the mass of men cannot believe to be possible. "Adore enthusiasm," says Mazzini, "worship the dreams of the virgin soul, and the visions of early youth, for they are the perfume of Paradise, which the soul preserves in issuing from the hands of the Creator." In a subject country such as ours, the patriotic impulses of youth are apt to be all the more fervent and outspoken, and it will be the height of folly if thoughts and ideals that vibrate their minds and make them feel restless are not fully appreciated by us. The academic atmosphere can retain its sanctity and freedom, only with the loyal assistance of the students. We must do all that lies in our power to awaken them to the realisation that national problems have not been solved in other countries, and cannot be solved in India, by such childish methods as students' strikes and demonstrations within the colleges, that the best way of helping to cope with a national crisis that faces India today is for them to combine with the Universities in securing for themselves better education and better preparation for life.

For us who are responsible for shaping the policy of the Universities it would be well to remember the prophetic words of a great thinker that it would be a most deplorable thing to make the price of education for our youths the surrender of the years of the greatest initiative and enthusiasm and of the hope and capacity for great deeds to rigid surveillance or to the work of acquisition alone. Let us keep our students at work getting knowledge out of books but not while the enthusiasm of youth is ebbing away and the capacity of doing things is being gradually lost. Learning itself is not always of the greatest value. The man who is made is the great thing and the work of doing is the great thing in the man. But it is not the man alone that the University is to make. Let us teach our students and let us ourselves demonstrate that no man lives to himself, that no task can be more patriotic than that of binding the whole community together by common association and aspirations. The object of education is not the construction of a single man who dies and is forgotten. Benefits to the community, to the nation, to civilization, are all that are of value, and the production of the individual man whose influence shall live for ever in the weal of humanity—that is the great object of every University. Let us lift up the mass of our countrymen from hard conditions of poverty and ignorance and let us produce the individual man framed and trained in our Universities who will worthily participate in that majestic progress. All our students may not become very learned, all may not even go very deeply into any one subject. But what is our education worth if we have not been able to push back their horizons, to remove their vision from the little concrete objects that fill a narrow and isolated life and to make them realise, however vaguely, the existence of a vast field of human life and interest, of history and science, of achievement and failure, of examples and warnings outside of themselves, beyond the period of their lives and even the limits of their province and country?

The need of a broad outlook and a clear vision was never so imperative as at the present moment. We meet in a time of storm and stress. Kings and crowns are tumbling down and countries that have long been the citadels of freedom are today the ruthless victims of superior force. India appreciates, more perhaps than any other country, what it is for a people to lose their political power and independence. Battling nations and warring ideologies contend for mastery in the East and the West. The roaring tide of partisanship and passion threatens to sweep away many of the institutions we hold dear, and, who knows, may even destroy whatever remains of the integrity of this ancient land of ours. Distrust and prejudice, invariably associated with the doctrine of overlordship, still cloud the Indian horizon. In the words of a keen observer of modern times, racial and religious prejudices, which we had fondly believed to be the outcome of ignorant reaction, have been made the basis of national policy and learned men have been found able to reconcile the defence of this barbarism with their conscience.

Agra faced problems of serious import in the past when it first emerged to full view from the mist of antiquity. It found an India divided against itself—a prey to internal chaos and external aggression. The Central Government whose power had once been felt from the Himalayas to Madura had collapsed. Rival princes and barons fought for supremacy in the various provinces. The spectre of foreign domination loomed large on the horizon. Buccaneers from neighbouring continents were already intercepting pious pilgrims and peaceful traders, and trying to establish their lairs on the defenceless sea-board of India. How did the eminent men of Agra deal with the situation in the sixteenth century ? They realised the supreme need of the country's unity. India, according to certain bureaucratic administrators and myopic politicians, is not one country or nation. But was not the unity of the land and its people emphasised by ancient writers ? Did not the poet sing of the whole country as—

मेरा सोनेका हिन्दुस्थान,
तु हि मेरे दिलकी रोशनी,
तु हि मेरी जान।

It is to the task of the unification of this land of Hindusthan that a long line of rulers, Hindu and Muslim, directed their energies in the past. In the work of political unification in the sixteenth century, Akbar was ably seconded, among others, by Todar Mal and noble men of the house of Jaipur. Your city became the metropolis of a united Hindusthan and retained that proud position for well nigh a century. The Rajput and the Pathan, the Mogul and the Audhi Khetri, retained their individual culture. But they co-operated to establish an edifice carved in granite, and hewn out of the rock of liberalism, toleration and a broad-mindedness that did away with the artificial barriers raised by racial and religious prejudices. The structure stood till the recrudescence of intolerance and arrogance levelled it to the ground, to the eternal misfortune of our country.

With unity had come freedom from the foreign menace. The Kings of Iran and Turan came to acquire a wholesome respect for the Government of Hindusthan, and the sea-rovers from the West were content to send pious missionaries and peaceful ambassadors to the Imperial Court. The quiet teachings of mediaeval *bhaktas*—apostles of *Ahimsa*—useful as they were in imbuing the people with ideas of catholicity, neighbourly charity and toleration, so essential for national organisation and solidarity, would not have sufficed to save the country from chaos and aggression, had they not been reinforced by the valour of the horsemen of Akbar, the spearmen of Man Singh and the cohorts of Todar Mal. Will the lessons of the past be lost on us? Shall we encourage movements that threaten to disrupt the unity of this country? It should not be forgotten that if Indian history teaches a lesson, it is this—that political disruption due to tribal jealousy and religious antagonism has been the harbinger of foreign domination.

If Indian unity is a desideratum, its essential pre-requisite is a broad toleration in every sphere of life. Racial and religious prejudices have often, throughout the ages, turned Europe into reeking shambles and disintegrated nations and "ramshackle empires," which, had they remained united, would have been better able to withstand the shock of external invasion. A loud lament has gone forth from an Anglo-Saxon statesman that his navy bears a heavier burden through lack of ports in a Celtic land with a predominantly Catholic population, which was once united to his country by stronger political ties. Perhaps the Catholics and Celts still remember Drogheda and Wexford, the penal laws and Coercion Acts. Our Motherland has to be saved, if necessary, with our life-blood, from Droghedas and Wexfords and their inevitable corollary—an Ulster in an "Emerald Isle" and a sullen Eire within a frowning Commonwealth.

Let men and women trained in Indian Universities of today unite in their efforts for the remaking of their Motherland. No country has attained greatness or liberty except through loyal and disinterested service of her children. The spirit of the New India must be born of struggle and arduous labour and sacrifice, of noble scorn of ease and luxury, of thirst for knowledge and its widest application to the alleviation of human misery and suffering, of a broad-based toleration and justice affecting the rights of the vast multitude of the Indian people, of a burning and unalterable faith in the political integrity of the country, of loyalty to truth and faith in God. Let us proceed on the path that leads to the Home of Liberty, of Justice, of Righteousness, undaunted by obstacles or failures, gaining courage and strength from the everlasting truth that, even if the present generation comes to its journey's end before the goal is reached, our ceaseless efforts will inspire those who follow us, and they will carry on the unfinished duty with unabated energy and determination and know no rest or peace till Victory is achieved.*

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* Address delivered at the Annual Convocation of the University of Agra, 1940.

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1941

SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

Sir P. C. Rây, Kt., and Bhabeschandra Ray, M.Sc.

XIV

Shakespeare as Reviser of Plays Written by Others—Trilogy of *Henry VI* and *Titus Andronicus*

Having considered the principles of disintegration let us now read the trilogy of *Henry VI*, and see what additional light can be thrown on the vexed problem of the authorship of these pieces. Referring to *1 Henry VI* Maurice Morgan (1777) also denounces this drum and trumpet things at the very outset. Carlyle has remarked very emphatically that the author of the first part of *Henry VI* must be a stupid man.

In a previous issue of this journal, Shakespeare's authorship of *1 Henry VI* has been doubted and here we need not repeat our arguments once more. We shall try to concentrate our opinion upon the internal evidences afforded by the trilogy for making out its authorship. Let us take up the first part where the external evidences do not conclusively prove the Shakespearean authorship at all. This play has been guessed to be dated 1591.

The diction, vocabulary and versification of the first part of *Henry VI* appear altogether un-Shakespearean and correspond more with those of our poet's immediate predecessors; this piece is full of mythological allusions, allusions which are too frequent in Greene, Peele, Lodge and their several other contemporaries. These allusions sometimes appear dull and can well be regarded to be introduced merely as a proof of the author's learning. Malone in his famous dissertation on *King Henry VI* remarks: "The versification of this play appears to me clearly of a different colour from that of all our author's genuine dramas, while at the same time it resembles that of many of the plays produced before the time of Shakespeare." Versification, no doubt, supplies a good test for authorship of any poem but it cannot be considered fully conclusive unless supported by other tests. It can solve the problem only within some limit and we shall try to find out the actual limit shortly. But before that let us try to consider the versification of *Henry VI* with that of other contemporary plays written by Shakespeare and by his fellow playwrights or predecessors.

It has already been pointed out that *Gorboduc* is the first play to be written in blank verse in the English literature. Blank verse remained rather neglected until the great poet Marlowe popularised it. This blank verse may be end-stopped where the sense concludes or pauses at the end of a line, or it may be a run-on one where the author will continue to read the lines one after another without any pause whatsoever. Shakespeare's predecessors were just accommodating themselves with this new-fangled verse and were producing, in most cases, only the end-stopped lines. A few selected cases will clearly exemplify:

> "A mighty lion, ruler of the woods,
> Of wondrous strength and great proportion,
> With hideous noise scaring the trembling trees,
> With yelling clamours shaking all the earth,
> Traversed the groves, and chased the wondering beasts."

Locrine[1]—(opening lines)

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[1] "*The lamentable Tragedie of Locrine, the eldest son of King Brutus, discoursing the Warres of the Britaines, &c.*, was entered on the Stationers' books by Thomas Crede, on July 20, 1594. On this entry no mention is made of the author of the piece; but in the title-page of the first edition, printed in November or December, 1595, it is stated to be *newly set forth, overseene, and corrected by W. S,*

Let us take at random a few more lines from the same play, Huba, Prince of the Scythians, exclaims in Act III, Sc. 2:

> "Let come what will, I mean to bear it out ;
> And either live with glorious victory,
> Or die with fame renown'd for chivalry,
> He is not worthy of the honey comb,
> That shuns the hives because the bees have stings,
> That likes me best that is not got with ease,
> Which thousand dangers do accompany;
> For nothing can dismay our regal mind,
> Which aims at nothing but a golden crown,
> The only upshot of mine enterprises."

The authorship of *Sir John Oldcastle* has been conclusively attributed from a study of Henslowe's Diary to be proved composite authorship of as many as four dramatists.[1] Let us quote here a specimen of versification of this piece to show that the lines are generally end-stopped:

> "*Cob.* My gracious lord, unto your majesty,
> Next unto my God, I do owe my life;
> And what is mine, either by Nature's gift,
> Or fortune's bounty, all is at your service.
> But for obedience to the Pope of Rome,
> I owe him none; nor shall his shaveling priests
> That are in England alter my belief.
> If out of Holy Scripture they can prove
> That I am in error, I will yield,
> And gladly take instruction at their hands;
> But otherwise, I do beseech your grace
> My conscience may not be encroached upon."[2]

The Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell, another apocryphal play attributed to our poet was entered in the Stationers' Register in the year 1602, with the famous sub-heading "as yet was lately acted by the Lord Chamberleyn his Servantes." This play, though produced at a time when Shakespeare's name and fame were well-established with the theatre-going public, was written clearly on the traditional method of versification, namely, the abundance of end-stopped lines. To quote an example:

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[1] *Calcutta Review*, January, 1940.
[2] Act II, Sc. 3.

"*Exec.* I am your death's-man; pray my lord, forgive me.
Crom. Even with my soul. Why, man, thou art my doctor,
And bring'st me precious physic for my soul.
My lord of Bedford, I desire of you
Before my death a corporal embrace.
Farewell, great lord; my love I do commend,
My heart to you; my soul to heaven I send.
This is my joy, that ere my body fleet,
Your honour'd arms are my true winding-sheet.
Farewell, dear Bedford; my place is made in heaven.
Thus falls great Cromwell, a poor ell in length,
To rise to unmeasured height, winged with new strength,
Hail, land of worms, which dying men discover!
My soul is shrined with heaven's celestial cover." [1]

Then again in *London Prodigal*, another doubtful play of Shakespeare, the versification is usually end-stopped. As an example we may cite the following lines:

"*M. Flow.* A plague go with you for a Kersey rascal.
This De'nshire man I think is made all of pork:
His hands made only for to heave up packs;
His heart as fat and big as his face;
As differing far from all brave gallant minds,
As I to serve the hogs, and drink with hinds;
As I am very near now. Well, what remedy?
When money, means, and friends, do grow so small,
Then farewell life; and there's an end of all." [2]

Apart from the apocryphal plays the extant pre-Shakespearean pieces have been most cautiously and carefully scanned by various authorities to show that the general characteristic of versification of all these pieces is the abundance of end-stopped lines. Even Marlowe, who has the unique distinction of introducing the blank verse as theatrical language to his credit, has been found to produce very many end-stopped lines in his plays. Instances may be regarded as superfluous, but in the interest of general readers who may not have the works of pre-Shakespearean dramatist lying on his table for reference, we think it worth while to quote a few instances of versification of a few pre-Shakespearean poets. Let us begin with Marlowe. In *1 Tamburlaine* we find, for instance:

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[1] Act V, Sc. 5.
[2] Act IV, Sc. 3.

"*Gov.* Still doth this man, or rather god of war,
Batter our walls and beat our turrets down ;
And to resist with longer stubbornness,
Or hope of rescue from the Soldan's power,
Were but to bring our wilful overthrow,
And make us desperate of our threatened lives,
We see his tents have now been altered
With terrors to the last and cruellest hue ;
His coal-black colours, everywhere advanced,
Threaten our city with a general spoil ;
And, if we should with common rites of arms
Offer our safeties to his clemency,
I fear the custom proper to his sword,
Which he observes as parcel of his fame,
Intending so to terrify the world,
By any innovation or remorse,
Will never be dispensed with till our deaths.
Therefore, for these our harmless virgins' sakes,
Whose honours and whose lives rely on him.
Let us have hope that their unspotted prayers,
Their blubbered cheeks, and hearty humble moans
Will melt his fury into some remorse,
And use us like a loving conqueror,"[2]

Again in *Faustus* and *Edward II*, the versification is usually of the traditional type, namely, end-stopped. As for specimen we may quote here a few lines:

"*Meph.* Now, Faustus, come, prepare thyself for mirth ;
The sleepy Cardinals are hard at hand,
To censure Bruno: that is posted hence,
And on a proud-paced steed, as swift as thought,
Flies o'er the Alps to fruitful Germany,
There to salute the woful Emperor.

[1] **Act V, Sc. 1.**

Faust. The Pope will curse them for their sloth to-day,
That slept both Bruno and his crown away.
But now, that Faustus may delight his mind,
And by their folly make some merriment,
Sweet Mephistopheles, so charm me here,
That I may walk invisible to all,
And do whate'er I please, unseen of any."[1]

Then again

"*Gav.* These are not men for me ;
I must have wanton poets, pleasant wits,
Musicians, that with touching of a string
May draw the pliant king which way I please:
Music and poetry is his delight ;
Therefore I'll have Italian masks by night,
Sweet speeches, comedies, and pleasing shows ;
And in the day, when he shall walk abroad,
Like sylvan nymphs my pages shall be clad ;
My men, like satyrs grazing on the lawns,
Shall with their goat-feet dance the antic hay ;
Sometime a lovely boy in Dian's shape,
With hair that gilds the water as it glides,
Crownets of pearl about his naked arms,
And in his sportful hands an olive-tree,
To hide those parts which men delight to see,
Shall bathe him in a spring ; and there hard by,
One like Actaeon, peeping through the grove,
Shall by the angry goddess be transformed,
And running in the likeness of an hart,
By yelping hounds pulled down, shall seem to die:
Such things as these best please his majesty.
Here comes my lord the king, and the nobles,
From the parliament. I'll stand aside."[2]

Marlowe was in fact the importer of blank verse in English dramatic world, but his prosody was not altogether free from limitations. The obvious result of this had been that in many places particularly when his characters come forward with lengthy speeches, the dramatist appears exceedingly monotonous. This intolerable monotony is not due to any want of imagination neither it is due to verbosity but simply to the rigid framework of versification. Greene, Peele, Nashe and their contemporaries would all prefer end-stopped lines to run-on ones as can be found from the following few specimens:

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[1] *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*, Act III, Sc. I.
[2] *Edward the Second*, Act I, Sc. 1.

> " My lord of Gloucester, and lord Mortimer,
> To do you honour in your sovereign's eyes,
> That, as we hear, is newly come aland,
> From Palestine, with all his men of war,
> The poor remainder of the royal fleet,
> Preserv'd by miracle in Sicil road,
> Go mount your coursers, meet him on the way ;
> Pray him to spur his steed, minutes and hours,
> Untill his mother see her princely son,
> Shining in glory of his safe return."[1]

There is no good in multiplying instances of this type. Let us now proceed with the theme proper, namely: Did Shakespeare write the whole of the *Henry VI* trilogy, or did he revise them, or was he altogether innocent of the plays? The study, as we have shown earlier has been made, almost by every Shakespeare Scholar with contradictory conclusions. These conclusions have been examined in a previous article with the same title, where it has been shown that "*Henry VI*, more specially its first part was not of Shakespeare's writing alone but was the product of composite authorship."[2]

George Peele, *Edward I.* Robert Greene.

[2] *Calcutta Rewiew*, May, 1940.

MILITARY EDUCATION •

G. M. Jadhav

My object in writing this article is to create an interest in military education and induce many students to study military books. I shall begin with "The Art of War" by Sun Tzu.

1. "The art of war is of vital importance to the State.

2. It is a matter of life and death, a road either to safety or to ruin. Hence it is a subject of inquiry which can on no account be neglected.

3. The art of war, then, is governed by five constant factors, to be taken into account in one's deliberations, when seeking to determine the conditions obtaining in the field."

Sun Tzu goes on to tell us what the five factors are: 1. The Moral Law; 2. Heaven; 3. Earth; 4. The Commander; 5. Method and Discipline. Sun Tzu has explained these factors carefully. It is remarkable to think that Sun Tzu wrote his book about 500 B.C. There are 13 Chapters in The Art of War:

1. Laying Plans
2. Waging War
3. Attack by Stratagem
4. Tactical Dispositions
5. Energy
6. Weak Points and Strong
7. Manoeuvring
8. Variation of Tactics
9. The Army on the March
10. Terrain
11. The Nine Situations
12. The Attack by Fire
13. The Use of Spies

I read The Art of War by Sun Tzu in 1910. I have here a copy of the 1910 edition English translation by Lionel Giles (Luzac and Co., London; Rs. 7-14 net). I think every University and College Library should have a copy of this book.

Sun Tzu wrote his book in Chinese, his mother tongue. Many centuries ago the Japanese translated The Art of War by Sun Tzu into Japanese. This book has had a great influence on Japanese military thought. More information about this will be found in "The Military Side of Japanese Life" by Captain Kennedy. It will require a separate article to deal with this subject. I mention only one point here. The Japanese school children are taken to see the life of their soldiers. In every way an effort is made to create interest in national defence. In their system of education the Japanese give a great importance to national unity and patriotism. Talking about Japanese patriotism I am reminded of another book.... "The Russian Army and the Japanese War" General Kuropatkin, the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army in the Russo-Japanese War. I quote a few lines:

"Though our information as to the material and moral points of the enemy's strength can hardly be described as good, we very much under estimated—if we did not entirely overlook—its moral side. We paid no attention to the fact that for many years the education of the Japanese people had been carried out in a martial spirit and on patriotic lines. We saw nothing in the educational methods of a country where the children in the Elementary Schools are taught to love their nation and to be heroes. The nation's belief in, and deep respect for, the army, the individual's willingness and pride in serving, the iron discipline maintained among all ranks, the influence of the *Samurai* spirit, escaped our notice...." That was in 1904-5. What must be the state of affairs today in Japan? And what has been done in India in order to create a national army, national navy and national air force? Today Britain is paying about nine million pounds per day. And India is also paying a big amount every day. Things would have been quite different had Indians been trained to defend India long ago. The balance of power would have been different.

THE ARTHASHASTRA

In the Artha Shastra of Kautilya there are a number of references to war, defence, and military matters. Some say the date of this work is 321 B.C. It is a matter of no small wonder that Kautilya wrote his book so many centuries ago. I sent a copy of the Arthashastra to Lt. Col. E. M. Benitez, Editor of The Military Review published by the Command and General Staff School, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, U.S.A., I quote the following lines from his letter:

"The very interesting book, "Arthasastra," by Kautilya, has been received and I appreciate your kindness in presenting to our Library this valuable book. It contains many worthwhile chapters, particularly Book 10. Please accept our thanks for this addition to our Library".

If Kautilya were alive today he would feel quite happy to know that his book is in the Library of the Command and General Staff School. Consider for a moment what must have been the condition of life in America in 321 B.C. We know much about the state of life in Pataliputra (present Patna). There was a strong army and a strong navy here. And what remains today of that great empire? There are a few old ruins. Time passes and empires also pass away.

I would like to see closer co-operation between India and U.S.A. and other nations.

MILITARY BOOKS

I can give the names of at least 1,000 good books each in English, French and German on military science, military history, etc. I use the word military in its wider sense to include also naval and air force subjects. It is no good merely giving a list. If I succeed in creating interest in military education I shall feel amply rewarded. Since 1914 I have been making this propaganda. In 1914 I was only 18 at the time) people shook their wise heads and laughed when I said, "Every Indian is a born defender of India. The defence of India is primarily the concern of the people of India." Then I pointed out how Indians from the different provinces and states of India should be given military, naval and air force training and education and trained to defend India. That was in 1914. And now it is 1940. Whose fault is it that Indians have not been trained to defend India?

In 1861 Mr. Gladstone said: "I would almost venture to say... that no community which is not primarily charged with the ordinary business of its own defence is really, or can be, in the full sense of the word, a free community."

Ruskin gave a lecture on War to the cadets of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, in 1865. Please read "The Crown of Wild Olives" by John Ruskin. Please read also "Generalship" by

General Fuller. In this book General Fuller has quoted freely from "The Crown of Wild Olives".

"No country is in a healthy state which has separated, even in a small degree, her civil from her military power." Ruskin.

And what do we find in India in our daily life and in our schools and colleges? Is there any systematic effort made to give the students a correct idea and education about the defence of India? How many Universities have Departments of Military Education?

In the books by General Fuller, Captain Liddell Hart, Captain Kennedy, Marshal Foch, Henderson, Moltke, Clausewitz, Goltz, etc., useful information will be found..

DEPARTMENT OF MILITARY EDUCATION

In order to organise a Department of Military Education there must be a Director who will become the life and soul of the Department; he must be a man imbued with the spirit of imparting military knowledge to his students. To know a subject is one thing and to impart your knowledge to others in a systematic and interesting manner is quite a different thing. The University must give the Director all the help he wants in order to buy the books, charts, maps, etc. Without a good military library no efficient work can be done. A complete course of two years can be prepared easily. The students who have passed their Inter. Arts or Inter. Science examination should be admitted to the Department of Military Education for the B.A. examination in military education. The Universities in India will do well to think about this matter.

I would suggest the following course of studies:

FIRST YEAR

BOOK	AUTHOR
The Art of War	Sun Tzu (selected pages)
The Arthashastra	Kautilya (do.)
The Way to Victory	Spenser Wilkinson
On War (chapter I)	Clausewitz
The Principles of War (chapters 1 and 2)	Foch
The Science of War (chapters 1 and 2)	Henderson

BOOK	AUTHOR
Elements of Tactics (chapters 1, 2, 3, 4)	Pakenham Walsh
Imperial Geography (chapters 1 and 2)	Lee
Imperial Defence (chapter 13 on India)	Boycott
Generalship	Fuller
Rise of the Christian Power (selected battles)	Basu
Maratha War	
Sikh War	
Indian Defence (army, navy, a[illegible] force)	

For the Second Year also I can suggest a complete course. The object of the course is to induce the students to study the art and science of war for the defence of India. There are 18 Universities in India and one in Burma. These Universities can all co-operate. Many of the Universities have the U. T. C. Practical work should be done by the U. T. C.

The students of the Department of Military Education should hear lectures on any two of the following groups of subjects:

(1) Literature. (2) Science. (3) Medicine. (4) Psychology.
(5) Education. (6) Engineering. (7) Architecture.

It is for the University concerned to prepare the Time Table and organise the lectures. These lectures on non-military subjects will be a help to the students. They will serve as a background against which the students can compare their military knowledge. Literature will give a good background to those who are interested in it. Chemistry, Physics, Botany, *etc.*, have their own educational value. Physiology, Anatomy, Pathology, *etc.*, give the mind a training which is also equally useful and important. In every University there are many Faculties. So it will be quite possible for the students of the Military Education Department to hear lectures on any non-military subjects in which they are interested.

In course of time there should be a good Military College in every province. Just think for a moment what would have been the condition of medical education in India if there had been only one

Medical College and only 100 men and women trained every year in it. It is almost too dreadful to think about such a calamity. But fortunately medical education received the help it deserved. If it is necessary to give medical education, I say it is equally necessary to give military education. We must fight against diseases and pestilence. It is just as important to be able to fight against enemies who are sure to invade India. You cannot train a national army, national navy and a national air force in a year or two. I know a careful plan of ten years will give us a national army and a national air force. Twenty five years should be enough for creating a national navy in India. It is with such ideas in the mind that we must organise our system of education. I do hope that every University will organise a Department of Military Education.

INDIAN DEFENCE

We should study Indian Defence under the following sections:

1. General Physical Features and Climate.
2. Historical Survey.
3. Political Divisions.
4. Constitution and Government.
5. Resources.
6. Communications ; rail, air, rivers, ports, roads.
7. The Defence Forces of India.
8. The Defence of India.
9. Military Education.

More information about sections 1 to 8 will be found in "Imperial Defence" by A. G. Boycott. There are 26 pages. I hope a number of Professors of Calcutta University will co-operate and prepare a small book of say 250 pages on Indian Defence. Eight Professors can do this work ; each one can write an essay of 25 typewritten foolscap (double space) pages on the section he knows best. I shall contribute 25 such pages on Miliiary Education. This is a matter of co-operation which is so necessary in all military matters.

TEACHERS OF MILITARY EDUCATION

The students who join the Department of Military Education and complete the two year course will become good teachers of military education. India today needs such teachers.

It is quite possible that a number of H. E. School teachers in Bengal may wish to join the Department of Military Education. These teachers have already the experience of teaching and they will profit by the two year course. In their case the course may be reduced to one year. The experienced teachers will learn more quickly than the young students who have just passed their Inter Arts or Inter Science examination. It is for the University concerned to work out these details.

The Director should be paid Rs. 1000 per month. There should be one Lecturer on Rs. 200 per month. For books, charts, maps, etc., a grant of Rs. 6,000/- should be given every year. All this depends on the finances of the University concerned. The time has now come for every University to organise a Department of Military Education. The U. T. C. must look after the practical work in each case.

1920 AND 1940

In 1920 I was at Bonn I was able to see and hear many things in Germany. Once I was invited by some German scouts to see William Tell. I think most of us have read Tell. I went to the place mentioned by the German scouts. They were all young boys full of life and enthusiasm. They were good actors also. The French had occupied Bonn. I wondered what the French thought about Germany and about German education. I remember what I saw and heard even in the primary schools. The boys and girls were told that they should become patriotic and sacrifice everything for the good of the Fatherland. But to go back to Tell. I was much impressed by what I saw. The boys were very earnest. You remember the different scenes from the drama. I can see those scenes even today. When I was going home I met some French officers and I told them that by 1939 or 1940 the Germans would be again in Paris and that the whole world would read the words PARIS SILENT AS TOMB.

In 1914 I told my friends in France (I was hearing lectures on French literature and architecture at Rouen) that sooner or later Japan would attack China and move towards Burma. There was nothing very wonderful in this. Japan had taken so many ideas from Europe and she was sure to discover a "mission." Let that be. I told my French friends something else. I said that Mr. H. G. Wells would write books about the Future of Man. I hope you have already read The Fate of Homo Sapiens (1939) and The New World Order (1940). I had read a number of books by H. G. Wells and from that one could say that he was the right man to place a plan before all nations. Please consider carefully The Rights of Man suggested in The New World Order. I can say today that there will be another war in 1960 or 1965 much worse than the present war.........unless the different nations adopt the plan suggested by Mr. H. G. Wells. In 1920 I said that London and other cities would be attacked and much damage would be caused People laughed. The pictures I painted in 1920 we see today in the papers. Why all this war and its horrors ? The answer is clear enough. Our social and economic system is thoroughly bad. There must be many changes and readjustments. You will say what has all this to do with military education. A great deal. Military education is not a watertight compartment. It is a part and very important part of human activities. The greater trouble we take to understand the causes and effects of war, the better for humanity. The future of India depends on the people of India. In Homo Sapiens and The New World Order by H. G. Wells Indians will find many useful suggestions for national unity and national solidarity. These two books should be translated into Indian languages. They should be published in one volume under the common title ' The Future of Man."

BIHAR MILITARY SCHOOL

In February, 1938 I wrote a short note on military education and sent copies to the Ministers in different provinces and states. Dr. Syed Mahmud, ex-Minister of Education, Bihar, took great interest in the note. I wish the Ministers in other provinces and states had done the same. The Bihar Legislative Assembly passed the following resolution on the 12th of April, 1938:

"That this Assembly recommends to Government to take necessary steps to organise a National Militia for this province on the lines of the I. T. F. and to maintain duly trained volunteer corps as a reserve force ready for mobilisation at any time of emergency, and also make adequate provision for military training in schools and colleges and to establish a separate military school."

I think the Legislative Assembly of every province in India should have passed this resolution in April, 1938. This united action would have produced a nationwide interest in and enthusiasm for military education and national defence. I prepared the plan of the Military School in November, 1938. I quote the following lines Bihar from the letter of a British officer who served in India for many years:

"Very many thanks indeed for your letter and for the copies of the Syllabus of the Military College. I am most interested in the latter, and I do really congratulate you most heartily on its very sound and comprehensive character. Your young men will receive a much better training than they get at any university in the country, and I very much hope that some day I shall be able to come and see you at work. I do indeed wish you success, and am quite sure that you will get it."

It is a pity that the Government of India did not help the Bihar Military School. We are told every day that Britain is fighting for democracy (whatever that may mean). It is but natural that the people of India should be able to defend India. Why are they not given the chance is something more than I can say. To me this seems a very shortsighted policy and I say so quite openly. There should be military schools, naval schools and air force schools in India.

MILITARY AND NAVAL SCHOOLS IN AMERICA

There are many good military and naval schools in America. The Government of America give rifles, ammunition, machine guns, howitzers, etc. to the schools; military and naval officers are sent to train the boys. The same is done for aviation. And what do we see in India? Are we living in the Age of Radio or in the Stone Age?

Those who are interested in military schools, naval schools and air force schools in America should write to the Presidents of the schools for free copies of their prospectuses. The names of such schools will be found in the Redbook Magazine and in the Cosmopolitan, New York. I have given a few names at the end of this article in the Appendix.

MILITARY REVIEW

I think every college library should subscribe to the Military Review published by the Command and General Staff School, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, U.S.A. The annual subscription is only two dollars. When you study the Review and see how much useful information it contains, you will subscribe to it.

In June (1938) issue of the Military Review there is an article on "The First Battle of History" by Captain Glen R. Townsend, Infantry. There are thirty pages devoted to the article which is well illustrated with maps and pictures of Egyptian military life. If you are a good student of military history you will study this article with the care it deserves. It is certainly good to go back to about 1479 B.C. and see how the Egypan army it was trained and how it fought.

From Egypt I come to the Indus Valley civilisation. I should like to know something about the way in which the people of Mohenjo-daro organised their defence and trained the army for war. It is good to go back to the Mohenjo-daro period but I should also like to look into the future and see what will be the state of the world many centuries hence. We learn many things from the past which help us to understand the present. But is there no such thing as a science of the future which will enable us to predict with certain amount of truth the course of events and what will happen to mankind?

What about the people of India? Have we any definite plan? The people of India should remember the progress of aviation. Think for a moment what has been achieved during the last thirty years and how great is the progress of aviation. It was not the work of one man. Mr. H. G. Wells has carefully explained this point in his book "The New World Order." Many hundreds of people gave their brain power to make aviation what it is today. Cannot Indians also co-operate and each one give the best he can for making India a really first class power in every sense of the word? We should study the Rights of Man to which I have already referred. That should be the common basis from which we should start and every Indian should do his best to give suggestions and prepare plans to make India a prosperous country in which men and women can live in peace. Co-operation and co-ordination of effort will help us. It is not one man's job. It is the duty of every Indian to give his and her best for the good of India. In national defence and national government we have a common goal, a common ideal. Provincialism, caste and creed must disappear and we must have a united, free and strong and healthy India. I believe that military education will be a great help in creating this new kind of India.

APPENDIX

MILITARY SCHOOLS IN AMERICA

Westpoint Military Academy, Westpoint
New York Military Academy, Cornwall, New York
Manlius School, Manlius, New York
Valley Forge Military Academy, Wayne, Pennsylvania
Staunton Military Academy, Staunton, Virginia
Culver Military Academy, Culver, Indiana
Western Military Academy, Alton, Illinois
St. John's Military Academy, Delafield, Wisconsin
San Diego Army and Navy Academy, Carlsbad, California
Black-Foxe Military Institute, Los Angeles, California

NAVAL SCHOOLS IN AMERICA

United States Naval Academy, Annapolis
Admiral Billard Academy, New London, Connecticut
Admiral Farragut Academy, Pine Beach, New Jersey

AVIATION SCHOOLS IN AMERICA

Randolph Field, Texas
Boeing School of Aeronautics, Oakland, California
Parks Air College, East St. Louis, Illinois
Curtiss-Wright Technical Institution of Aeronautics, Glendale
Spartna School of Aeronautics, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Please write to the Presidents of these Schools for their illustrated booklets. It is just as well to see what the Americans are doing for military, naval and air force education. There are many good camps for boys and girls. Please write for that information also.

Books on military science may be procured from the Military Service Publishing Company in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The Military Review I have already mentioned. In it the names of many other good military magazines will be found.

The Classified Catalogue (Rs. 2-8) published by the United Services Institution of India, Simla, is very useful. It can be obtained from the Secretary of the Institution.

AGRICULTURE IN JAPAN*

A. K. M. ZAKARIAH

Ex-Mayor of Calcutta

IN Japan proper the rural population comprises half the total number, and in Chosen (Korea) and Taiwan approximately 80% of their respective numbers. So agriculture is unquestionably the most important line of industry in that Empire. It is the most productive pursuit of the nation. Under this condition of things, it is very unfortunate that Japan should be possessed of a small tillage acreage. The arable land in Japan proper represents but 15% of the total area. With both Chosen and Taiwan added, the aggregate percentage is no more than 17 of the total area. It may be pointed out by way of comparison that arable lands in a country like British India make up about 46·4% of its total area. Even purely industrial and commercial countries, like Britain and Holland, are credited with tillage acreage corresponding to a quarter of their total areas, while France, Germany, Italy, about 40%. Japanese agriculture is under an exceptionally heavy acreage handicap.

Japan's territory is at the best uncommonly small in proportion to her population. A number of islands comprising this limited area abound in mountains exceptionally high for islands, but notably lack in plain level lands. Her agricultural situation might have been considerably improved by the acquisition of colonies, but, as it happens, Chosen and Taiwan are scarcely less mountainous than their mother country. Under these natural conditions of the country, Japan's population density in proportion to her arable area is far greater than in any other country of the world.

Contradictory condition will be apparent in Japan's agriculture when it is seen what a great mass of aggrarian people are pressed into this small area to make their living the best they can. Here lies the difficulty with which Japan, as an agricultural nation, has always been wrestling, and which she has not found the means of overcoming. To this condition of the country must be attributed most of the aggrarian problems she has had to face in the past. To make things even more difficult, Japanese agriculture has of late years been hard hit by the low prices of field products. During the growing season of 1934 the crops were badly damaged by snows, floods, typhoons, and cold spells of weather. The low prices of agricultural products were due to over supply. Paradoxical as it may sound, Japanese agriculturists complain of at once lack of land and over production of crops. The self-contradictory situation is the result of a national policy confined to narrow purposes.

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* Lecture delivered at the Calcutta University Institute on 6th December, 1940. Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Ex-Finance Minister to the Government of Bengal and Ex-Mayor, Calcutta presided.

In view of the fact that the farming population in Japan constitute a large percentage of the total of the nation and agriculture is a key-industry of the country, the Government has set up various organizations for research and study of problems concerning this industry, applying the results thereof to all farming villages. They comprise the agricultural experimental farms established in all Prefectures, horticultural experimental farms, tea industry experimental farms, and stock farming experimental farms. On the other hand, agricultural societies have been organized for the purpose of guiding the farmers in the technique of the industry and of caring for their interest, and industrial guilds with the object of helping the farmers economically.

Under the Tokugawa Shogunate[1], farmers were restricted as to the kind of crops they might grow, while a favoured few were given special licenses for the cultivation of sugarcane and some other products. Not only did the statutory ban came direct from the Shogunate, but feudal clan governments, in their turn, put on their own restrictions and handed out their own favours. The farmers were unable to escape from those restrictions ; one feudal government might be less strict than another and the tendency would be for an efflux of farmers from the areas with stringent regulations to the areas more lenient, but the government prevented such migrations by prohibiting the sale of cultivated lands. As each feudal clan tried to raise enough food stuffs for its own needs, the majority of the farmers were compelled to centre their energies on the production of rice and barley, the main food of the Japanese people. Like the Tokugawa Shogunate, the Meiji

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[1] Government of the Tokugawas. Established by Tokugawa Ieyasu in the year 1608, for the period 1603-1867.

[2] From 1867-1912. Restoration.

Government[2] concentrated the energy on the agricultural developments but in a more informed manner. The export of rice and barley which was banned by the Tokugawas was permitted by the Meiji Government from January, 1872, the fifth year of Meiji, and since then free export of rice has been allowed in principle although limits have been imposed occasionally and for short terms, because of their need of regulating the price of rice. The reason for the Government initiating rice export was that it had decided to break away from the centuries' old custom of having taxes paid in rice and accept monetary payments only. It possessed a large amount of rice in its warehouses, an amount which was ever increasing, and this fact prompted it to dispose of its stock abroad to prevent the drop of rice prices and avert the consequent blow to Government finance. The Government consigned rice to British trading concerns, Walsh and Hall. The export lasted for two years, to January, 1874, and during this period a large quantity was shipped to Hongkong, Amoy, Shanghai, Swatow, Fukien, Sydney, Melbourne, London and San Francisco. By this sale the Government obtained Y 4,925,905.[1] Trade conditions abroad at the time were very bad and the amount the Government received was about Y 1,429,000 less than might have been realised by selling the rice at home, but it had the desired effect of preventing a fall in domestic prices. After all, the greater part of the rice had been taken over without payment from the Tokugawa Shogunate and Feudal clans, so the Government was by no means a looser on the transaction, and the farmers benefited as farm products were emancipated from all restrictions on trading. Tokugawa ban on the sale of land was removed in part in 1872. By removing the ban, the private ownership of lands had furthermore made the sale and mortgage of it easy by adopting a system of land certificates. The majority of the Samurais were naturally thrown out of employment by the Restoration of Meiji, and as they were warrior class this situation was a great menace to the new Government. In order to give them proper employments, the Government decided to encourage them in agricultural pursuits and as many parts of the country required developing, the Government in concert with former feudal Lords sent batches of Samurai immigrants to those districts. A liberal subsidy was given to them, and as the result proved satisfactory, the Government was successful in tiding over the possible crisis coming from a sudden increase of jobless Samurais. Toshimichi Okubo, one of the greatest figures of the Restoration, concentrated his energy on agricultural development. The Komaba Agricultural School, Tokyo, predecessor to the College of Agriculture of Tokyo Imperial University, was founded in 1877 through his efforts. The Government protection for agricultural development was thorough-going. The appropriation of funds, establishment of agricultural schools and experimental stations, importation and application of best sugarcane, sheep-raising, cattle-breeding and sundry other necessary steps for agricultural improvement were adopted. An American agricultural expert, George A. H. Hall, was engaged by the Government in 1871 as an Adviser on live-stock breeding and farming. The importation of cotton seeds from Netherlands, the opening of the agricultural experimental stations and sundry other enterprises were undertaken, and officials and students were sent abroad to study agriculture. In April, 1881, the Government established the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce ; various Government enterprises were transferred to private managements. Various protective measures were adopted, such as, enforcement of the Japan Hypothec Bank Law, Agriculture and Industrial Bank Law, Arable Lands Re-adjustment Law, Staple Produce Traders' Association Law, and the Prefecture Agricultural Experimental Station Treasury Subsidization Law. Not only were these measures intended to protect the farmers from troubles peculiar to their own industry but also to protect them from difficulties arising from the growth of other industries and competition of foreign farm products. Farm products in Japan were diminishing in quantity and quality for various reasons, such as the climate, labour, wages and Japan's changing social and international relations. With the promotion of foreign trade, cheaper priced farm products from abroad, such as raw cotton, indigo and beans, began to be imported in large quantities and when the occupation of Formosa as a result of the Sino-Japanese War, 1894-95, resulted in a rapid expansion of sugar cultivation in that region, large scale enterprises at home were rendered unnecessary. After the Sino-Japanese War bankruptcy was very rife among the farmers and relief was given to them by annual subsidy. In 1906, rice and unhulled rice were taken off the free list and a duty was imposed on their importation. Import duty on barley and that on wheat were raised higher. Again in the year 1911, the tariff on rice and unhulled rice was raised still higher. The Government also paid much attention to agriculture in other directions, for instance, the treasury was authorized to subsidize sericultural research and relieve farmers whose silk worms had suffered from disease. An Increased Mulberry Growth Encouragement Fund, Land Improvement Encouragement Fund, Insect Ravage Prevention Fund, and certain other Funds and Subsidies were paid out of the Treasury. As foreign rice and wheat were heavily imported agricultural interests suffered, a suffering that was not mitigated by the inflow of new capital, for capital was now being centralised in the cities and farmers, ever in constant financial difficulties, were compelled to borrow from money-lenders at high rates of interest. Educated landlords found it advisable to give up farming and rural communities lost their leadership where urban industry gained.

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[1] Y 100=Rs. 81¼, present exchange rate.

The Great War of 1914-18, affected agriculture all over the world. Production in foreign countries fell. As the prices of agricultural products rose Japanese food stuffs were exported in large quantities. There was also an increased home demand, cities were enjoying unprecedented prosperity and while the prosperity lasted the farmers benefited. But with the termination of the War reaction set in, prices dropped, and agriculture found itself in the well of depression from which it has not yet found itself extricated itself. The area of cultivation has steadily decreased after 1921. But the replacement of the gold embargo enabled Japan to dodge an immediate settlement of its most important domestic problem, that of the farmers. The factors entering the question were many and complicated, bearing directly not only upon the living standards of the agricultural community, which constituted 46% of Japan's population, of but upon the solvency of the Banks. Before the re-imposition of the gold embargo rice was selling at Y 17 per 'Koku',* against a cost of production estimated at about Y 30. The factors in this high cost of production were dear money (the farmer paying 10 or 11 per cent on his borrowings), high taxes (where a profit was shown the farmer paid more than double the amount paid by the merchants, and where there were no profits the disproportion was infinitely greater), the cost of fertilisers, and the cost of living forced upward over a period of years by rising tariff wall. The inability of the farmers to pay taxes and interest had forced down the price of real estate. Between the financial panic of 1927 and the replacement of the gold ban in December, 1931, such prices had fallen between 30 and 50 per cent, depending on locality. Lenders of real estate were carrying paper losses between Y 500,000,000 and Y 625,000,000, the figure representing the difference between the current market price of the land and the amounts due, including defaults in interests and instalments. The loss represented between 20 and 25 per cent of the value of the total agricultural mortgages outstanding. According to the investigation of the Hypothec Bank of Japan in 1937, the average value of land which had kept declining since 1926 became stationary in 1933 and then began to rise in 1934, and reached 8.9″. The reason for this rise in land value may be found in the stability of the agricultural industry because of the fixing of the immediate price of rice by Rice Control Law, high prices of rice in the year, the low interest rate which quickened the demand for arable land, gradual effect of the measures taken for the economic improvement of agricultural villages, the increased income of farmers from side-work stimulated by the general boom of industries in cities, and rise in prices in general.*

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* 1, Koku=4·96 bushels.

The average per capita tillage acreage in Japan, as compared with other countries, is 1/5th of Germany, 1/6th of France, and 1/30th of the U. S. A. (such figures are not available to me for British India). It means in other words that a given tillage acreage in Japan must furnish occupation and support agricultural workers five to six times as many as in France and Germany, and thirty times as many as in the U. S. A. Under the circumstances, what little arable area there is in the Empire, is cultivated by the most intensive methods. The average holding for each farming family is 2·5 acres in Japan proper. Labour is hard-taxed, no pains are spared to coax a greater yield out of the none too rich soil. Thanks to patient industry, however, the yield value per farm unit in Japan is higher than in other country. Even under the best condition of agriculture, however, the limited productive area of the country can offer only scanty means of livelihood to its over-flowing population.

The staple product of Japanese agriculture is rice. It is raised not only as the most important article of diet of the self-sustaining aggrarian people but also as a commodity more valuable and profitable than others. As the chief food of the whole nation, rice had seldom been produced in circles until some years ago. Over-production of rice then became real. The farmers' economic position was made more difficult when, in addition, the prices of silk cocoons declined. Efforts are still being put forth to help the farmers out of the difficulty which is a result of the national aggrarian policy devoted to production of rice and silk cocoons at the cost of other crops. Among other things, wheat and fruit-growing is now being encouraged The farmers are also introduced to rural industries which are to be pursued in addition to their regular occupation. They are being taught not to depend, as they have done in the past, on few kinds of crops, but on many-sided, intigrated operation of lands.

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* Unfortunately, similar steps were not taken by the Government of Bengal during the period 1929-34, when the price of rice lands in West Bengal went down 150% or more.

One striking fact in Japanese agriculture which differentiates it from that of other countries is, that the farmers and their lands are almost exclusively devoted to the production of human food, while in other countries 30 to 40 per cent, and in some instances as many as 50 per cent of the arable lands is turned to the production of animal feed. This situation is in part accounted for by the diet of the Japanese people, and in part, by the fact that the Japanese farmers compared with those of other countries, make far less use of the animals on their farms. The tillage area in Japan is broken in small holdings which must by necessity be cultivated by intensive methods. The farm animals in Japan proper number about 4 for every 10 farming families. Besides, they are not employed more than 50 days in the year, or 4% of the number of the days human labour is employed. Machines have of late been introduced for refining field products and for the purpose of irrigation and drainage, but in no instances have machines been used in cultivation work itself. When there is small area available for each family, the farms have perforce to be small holdings. To get any satisfactory yield out of such area the land must be intensively cultivated and the crops closely tended.

Agriculture, as a whole, is one of the naughty problems that Japan has yet to solve. The farmers' huge mortgage indebtedness is one of the most serious phases of the situation. The Government has been encouraging collective efforts for adjustment of their obligations. It has been successful only in part. Technically, too, Japanese agriculture remains to be improved in not a few points Improvement of seeds is not the least important. The improved species of rice proved their ability of weathering bad conditions of nature. It is also necessary that more attention should be given to rural economy. The farmers while casually concerned with their technical side of their work have remained indifferent to the matter of economy ; and the present situation is considered serious. Their economic position is strong so far as they are self-sufficient. Recent enquiry, however, reveals that their position is no longer what it was some years ago. It may be seen, for instance, that among the items of farm and household expenses enumerated under the ordinary conditions of agriculture, the farmers now-a-days are self-sustaining in half as many things as they were before. This means that the farmers have to make more cash payments than they used to do in former times.

Japan's national wealth has of late grown considerably. But her national economy can hardly be expected to develop properly or in full as long as her rural population, which constitutes the main stay of the whole nation, fails to emerge from their present stage of economic misery. While their economy is bad, national economy can never be sound. It is therefore gratifying to see that rural population are becoming matters of increasing general concern.

The principal agricultural products of Japan are rice, mulberry (silk), sugarcane, tea, fibres, wheat, barley, beans, potatoes and kitchen vegetables, of which rice and mulberry are most important. About the agriculture of mulberry and silk industry I have already written a few pages and read out at the Calcutta Corporation Commercial Museum. In this article I will only deal with the other most important product, *viz.*, rice.

RICE.

Rice, the most important food stuff of the Japanese, and of all the people of Orient is the staple crop. The average yearly production during the five years from 1926 to 1930 in Japan proper was about 302,000,000 bushels valued at Y 1,590,000,000. If to this the figure 96,000,000 bushels produced in Formosa and 35,000,000 bushels of Koria are added, the total production of the Japanese Empire amounts to about 433,600,000 bushels.

Japan ranks third in the list of rice producing countries, India being first and China second. As regards the quality, Japanese rice is superior to the Chinese, Indian and any other rice.

As the quantity grown is insufficient to supply the home demand, importations had to be made every year. In 1930, about 6,000,000 bushels were imported from India and other places. In normal years when the price of rice is not excessive, an average of 5 bushels per person is consumed, and as the population is continually increasing a difficult problem is created, the increase in the annual rice harvest being less in proportion than the increase in the population. As a result, intensive cultivation is the rule, and every available piece of arable low land amenable to irrigation and all uplands that can be irrigated are planted with rice.

The rice is hulled by the farmer and put into straw bags, each containing about 2 bushels. It is then known as 'Gemmai' and has a brown appearance. The rice dealers polish it in the mills till it becomes milk white in which state it is ready to be boiled and eaten. This is the 'Hakumai' (white rice) of the market. Few people care to eat 'Gemmai,' although conceding that it carries the full feed value of the grain. The stalks when dry are known as 'Wara' and are used for making rope, straw-mats, sandals, rice bags and many other articles. The bran left after cleaning the 'Gemmai' is an indispensable ingradient in making pickles.

There are many varieties of rice plants, but they may be divided into two classes, those which only flourish in well irrigated land and those which will grow in dry fields. The greater part of the rice grown in Japan belongs to the former class.

The seed rice is soaked in salt water for a week and then washed in fresh water and dried before it is planted in well irrigated seed beds. After a few weeks the seedlings are transplanted into irrigated rice fields several spares of seedlings together and each lot about a foot apart. The planting out of rice is a great event, the whole family of the farmer engaging in the work, while the young folks sing songs associated with the occasion, which is an important one since on the abundance or paucity of the rice yield depends the life of the people. The planting out of the rice takes place between the end of May and early part of June, after which the farmer is careful to see that the fields are kept well irrigated and that the weeds are kept down. The weeding is the hardest part of the work as it has to be done during the hottest season. When the ears begin to ripen, the irrigation of the fields is stopped and when the rice is fully ripe the plants are cut off close to the root, bound into sheaves and strung on racks in the fields where it is dried head-downwards in the sun. From planting to harvest about five months are required. But in Formosa this time is little less and they get two rice crops in every year.

The Government of the land are always ready to render help and grant subsidy towards the rice cultivation. The cultivation is patronised by everybody from the Emperor down to the ordinary farmer. In the city of Tokyo I have personally seen the picture gallery of the Meiji Shrine where there are costly and very artistic pictures and paintings of rice planting. In one of those pictures I have noticed the Empress herself started the transplantation of the first few seedlings in an irrigated land just to give encouragement to the farmers at the beginning of the Meiji Restoration.

Official policy in the past has been chiefly bent on the adjustment of the price of rice. The government used to buy up on its own account certain quantities of rice, and when new crop was ready to be marketed, and this stock was released whenever the market was found tending upward in consequence of the deficient supply. Violent fluctuations of the market were also prevented by the adjustment of tariff protection. In the spring of 1933, a new Rice Control Law was enacted and by virtue of which the Government now may buy or sell unlimited quantities of rice at the prices to be pre-arranged for each year in consideration of the conditions of the market. By the enforcement of the same law, the import of rice has been prohibited since the same year. It was arranged in addition to grant bounties to farmers for storing unhulled rice. This policy has been successful to the extent of maintaining the price of the cereals above a certain level. If the Government do not set aside a certain quantity for purchase each year there would be no increase in surplus on hand. What is assumed as surplus for each year is simply left out for general consideration, the market improving little, the better for the quantities for which it is supposed to be released. There is, on the other hand, a considerable body of opinion in favour of a stronger form of Managed Rice Economy. These men even go so far as to advocate a Government monopoly of rice.

Half the total production of rice within Japan proper is taken by the farmers for their own household use. The balance of some 150,000,000 bushels, is marketed. Half this quantity, or 75,000,000 bushels, found their way to greater cities where the price is determined by conditions of the market. Since the local markets move according to the city quotations, the supplies from Chosen (Korea) and Taiwan (Formosa), though forming but modest proportion of the total consumption, used to be factors of potency, disproportionate to their volume in determining the price of rice for the reason of being chiefly marketed in big cities. This situation has been remedied for the farmers to a degree by the new Rice Control Laws.*

What should be noted at this place is not uncommon fact that the farmers buy back part of the rice they once disposed of. These purchases amount to considerable quantities. Later in the season, they are enabled to buy back the cereals with the proceeds of silk cocoons and other things. The farming families in Japan proper number 5,600,000 of which about 4,700,000 are engaged in the production of rice and of these rice-growing families about 2,000,300 have to buy back more or less rice for their own family needs, their aggregate purchases amounting to approximately 38,000,000 bushels a year. For these farming families it is very important that the price of rice should not rise after their family rice has been consumed.

Among those who have but superficial knowledge of area are totally strangers to the true conditions of Japan by uncommon misnotion obtain that because the Japanese people live mostly on cheap rice, the cost of living in Japan is low, and consequently the level of wages is not raised. As a matter of truth rice in general has always been quoted at a price higher than those of wheat in the international markets. Japanese rice, in particular, has always maintained a unique position within the country. Because of the very high cost of production, Japanese rice is always quoted in the domestic market at prices twice or even more than twice as high as those prevailing in the international market at any time, thus proving itself the most expensive of all cereals. For instance, in January, 1936, the wholesale price of Japanese rice was quoted in Tokyo at 6 Yen 20 Sen per bushel. Computed at the present depreciated exchange rate of the Japanese currency, this price of rice is equivalent to 7s. 2d. Wheat on the other hand was quoted for the same month at Liverpool at 4s (inclusive of import duty) per bushel. In fact, the Japanese people live on the staple food which is the most expensive of all cereals.

The total world production of rice, though China's figure must be estimated on a tentative basis, amounts approximately to 180,000,000 tons or about 65,00,000,000 bushels. In the production of rice Japan ranks third after British India (including Burma) and China, and followed by Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies and Siam. The countries with any capacity to export rice are British India, Indo-China and Siam. Their combined exports, however, amount to no more than 200,000,000 bushels a year or 55% of the amount consumed within Japan proper each year, or about a third of the amount of wheat transacted in the world's markets. So far as the market of rice is restricted, its price is hard to be adjusted internationally. Thus Japanese rice always maintain a price far above its world price level. Rice in Japan must indeed be said a precious thing among all products of the soil.

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* I wish the Government of India had done the same thing, considering the importation of rice into India from Burma.

I am not an expert in agricultural science, but being a Bengalee, a rice eater, and having possession of a few hundred bighas of land in West Bengal, I tried to collect the informations noted above for the enlightenment of my countrymen. After the Battle of Plassey, when the British traders were determined to be permanent rulers of the country, they started policies to strengthen their purpose, and one of those policies which was introduced by Lord Cornwallis in the year 1791 was the Permanent Settlement in Bengal, Bihar and some other Provinces. The Moslems at that time were rich as well as holders of large land areas. In order to see them down, to make them weak and powerless, Lord Cornwallis made a conspiracy with the other communities of the country and that blessed arrangement, the Permanent Settlement, was enacted. Most of the lands belonging to the Moslem holders were transferred to others and the zeminderies were created in the Provinces and the Moslems mostly were deprived of their holdings. Since then the agricultural condition of the country deteriorated decade by decade and reached that worst stage which made the present Government to appoint the recent Floud Commission, the report of which is before the public now. A few hasty, impracticable laws were passed recently in the Legislatures, in order to see the advancement of agriculture and to help the agriculturist. What were the real difficulties and troubles and what were the immediate problems to be solved were not considered at all. Just to give an eye-wash and to make the next election propaganda smooth the majority party of the Legislatures has enforced such unworkable legislation over the rural population of the Province of Bengal; but in a few years these laws are surely to remain in the Statute Books only, as dead letters and nothing else.

In West and North Bengal where we have got very large arable rice lands, very little has been done for proper irrigation. The agriculturists are entirely dependent on the favour of the Nature. If there be adequate rain in time, rice grows, otherwise the whole tillage area remains without crop and the famine comes year after year. In the time of the Moghul Emperors every village in the West and North Bengal had irrigation tanks which were sufficient enough for the irrigation of the tillage lands. But since the introduction of the Permanent Settlement, the zeminders were only concerned to get the rent, had left their village homes, lived in the city, never cared to see what were the needs for the improvement of agriculture, leaving everything in the hands of their officers (naibs and gomosthas). These employees took improper and undue advantages on the helpless ryots, realised the rent and other fictitious charges by every sort of high-handedness and heinous ways just to make themselves rich and keep their lords satisfied, by remitting money regularly to them. Most of the irrigation tanks were silted up and a greater part of them had been converted into agricultural lands—just to increase the revenue of the zemindary. No pasteur land has been left and the cattle wealth deteriorated to the extremely wretched condition. The agriculturist became poorer day after day on account of constant failure of crops, the people had to mortgage their holdings at a high rate of interest to meet their home necessity as well as the rent money of the luxurious landlords living in the city, with dozens of costly automobiles, and numberless concubines. Epidemics, like, Malaria, Cholera, Small-pox, and other diseases became constant annual visitors in the rice districts of the country, people became short-lived, dwarfish, sickly, in their poor gloomy homes with loads of debts and sufferings. The government of the country never cared for this unhappy, unfortunate, melancholy people. They were only satisfied if their taxes were collected, their police force were duly paid, their officers' very high salaries were regularly drawn and the annual remittance to England was made in time. The villages, specially of the West Bengal, were full of jungles and became deserted and the smiles from the bright faces of the inhabitants vanished for ever. After some time of the British rule an Agricultural Department was started by the benign Government just as a show but nothing has been done. Highly paid officers were appointed, theories were enunciated, but the practical grievances became still worse by the levy of more taxes, to meet the expenses of that theoretical department. The present Ministers, who are mostly people from non-rice districts, care very little to make tours even once a year to those parts of the districts, though the expenses of their tour money exceed double the Budget estimates, in touring about numberless times, in their particular constituencies in order to make their next election secure. Recently some canals were constructed in order to help the irrigation in some parts of the districts of Midnapore, Burdwan and Birbhum, but no relief came in through them on account of the high charges as well as the inefficiency of the department concerned. In the time of the Moghuls, when the land survey of the country was made, by great Todarmal, the then government engineers thought that certain provinces of India were not such where agriculture might improve by cutting out canals for irrigation, and Bengal was one of them. So the adequate number of irrigation tanks were dug out. These served two purposes, one just to irrigate the agricultural lands and another to breed fishes in those innumerable ponds and tanks which are another staple food of the Bengalee population. The irrigation by canal system in West Bengal cannot be helpful at all, rather if more canals are cut out now in West Bengal, the existence of the Port of Calcutta will be apprehended. If the waters of the tributary rivers in West Bengal are diverted to the canals for irrigations, the river Ganges will lose the supply of head water and may be silted up within a few years. The canal system of irrigation in U.P. and Behar has already done great damage to the river. No longer the river Ganges receives sufficient quantity of water from its tributaries in Behar and U.P., the result of which is open to everybody who notices the condition of the river. From Rajmahal to Navadwip the great navigable river which in the time of the Moghuls used to carry cargo in all seasons from Bengal to Agra, dries up from the month of February to June and the old country ports of Navadwip, Katwa, Berhampore, Azimgunge, have lost their river trade, acquatic traffic and transportation altogether due to the lack of head water supply from U.P. and Behar. So if more canals are cut out in Bengal, this great city of Calcutta, the pride of Bengal, the biggest exporting port of Asia, might have the same lot of Bengal's famous old port of Saptagram in the near future. The Irrigation Department of the present Government of Bengal could have done immense good if they had advised the ministry just to re-excavate the irrigation tanks of West and North Bengal which would have not only solved the irrigation problem of the agricultural lands to a great extent but could have brought in a great trade of fish industry in the province making the economic condition of the people brighter and the sanitary condition of the country more healthful. But who cares for the poor, dumb, half-starved, half-naked, helpless population of the country ? The officers are satisfied as long as their high salaries are paid, the Ministers are happy by giving employment to their relations and paying off their personal debts by making speculation on agricultural commodities of the country. As long as their Ministry is safe, as long as they can have good time in the palaces of Calcutta and in the cool olympic hill stations, no matter what happens to the agriculturist of the land. The Ministry will remain safe by bringing in Pakisthan, by introducing separate electorate, by reservation of seats in the Legislatures and the Municipal Councils, by introducing a defective education policy just to cripple the National University, depriving the duly qualified children of the soil of the jobs by bringing in co-religionists from other Provinces and foreign countries, by introducing communalism in the field of sports, and by bringing in Mayor from Karachi or Bombay and leaders from Iran and Arabia, and so on. The Ministry will still remain safe by enacting the Agricultural Debtors' Act and the Money Lenders' Act, so that some of the Ministers may escape their obligations and the poor ryots in the time of their rice plantations have no help in the shape of money or any other commodity and thus keep them starved.

I have quoted some of the Acts which the Japanese Government have introduced to solve their agriculturists' problem in order to show my countrymen that if there be sincerity, if there be *bonafide* wishes of doing good, even the rulers of a country of very small arable land can do immense good and benefit to the suffering agriculturists. I have also stated something about the Japanese Government's action to control the prices of the agricultural commodities in order to save the growers from drastic change of prices in the market. The Ministers of this Province easily could have done the same thing if they even wanted to do it.

Alas, Bengal—nay poor Mother India—I do not know when

WILLIAM COWPER AND INDIA

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THOSE who are shocked by the imperialism of Rudyard Kipling will have a sense of pleasing reparation in the poetry of William Cowper. William Cowper is not as much a poet of anti-imperialism as Kipling is of imperialism. But there are passages in his longer poems which are expressive of the sympathy he had for India and the disapproval he had for the Englishmen who oppressed her. Cowper is not a great poet. He is not even a great man. It was given to him to be only a good poet and a good man. Like Charles Lamb he endears himself to us by the naive and elemental force of his sheer humanity ; like Charles Lamb he is a poem before being a poet. In one of his poems he describes himself as a stricken deer and even in his apparently satirical poetry the plaintive voice of stricken deer is always heard. A poet of gentle sensibility he had as much compassion for the helpless animals as for the poor villagers of Olney. And it was the mere man in him who was stricken at heart by the British oppression of India.

Cowper is considered as a precursor of romanticism. But it is not only his love of nature which makes him a herald of romantic poetry. He also anticipated that love of freedom which inspired the poets of the nineteenth century. If there is no detailed reference to India in the poetry of Shelley and Wordsworth it is not their apathy or their acceptance of imperialism which are responsible for it. It is the abstract and transcendental nature of their inspiration which makes them silent about any particular instance of oppression and tyranny. The Greek war of independence led Shelley into an ecstatic adoration of the spirit of freedom and the French Revolution drives Wordsworth into a contemplation of the moral destiny of mankind. Moreover during the period in which these two poets wrote the Indian problem was not a burning issue in England whereas Cowper produced his two well-known works at the time when the British Parliament was very busy in tackling the Indian question. Most of the poems and letters of Cowper were written when the city of London was filled with the scandal of the

Britishers in India, when Clive was brought to book for his open corruption, when the reports of the shameful oppression of Hastings in India were agitating the minds of his countrymen at home, when Parliament appointed select and secret committees to enquire into the affairs of the East India Company and introduced bill after bill for controlling them.

As we read the passages in which Cowper refers to the dealings of the Englishmen with India it will occur to us that in them Cowper does not merely indulge in a sentimental compassion or fashionable humanitarianism. As a well-wisher of India Cowper had the disadvantage of being a lover of his own country and the sufferings of India gave him as much pain as the cruelties of England covered him with shame. He sympathises with the victims as much as he is disgusted with the oppressors. He was aware of the demoralising effect which the spoils of India were bound to have on English life and English politics. He knew that the British traders were not only ruining India but they were also bringing ruin on themselves.

In his "Expostulation," he gives his countrymen such a warning—

"Hast thou, though suckled at fair freedom's breast
Exported slavery to the conquered East?
Pulled down the tyrants India served with dread,
And raised thyself, a greater, in their stead?
Gone thither, armed and hungry, returned full,
Fed from the richest veins of the Mogul,
A despot big with power obtained by wealth,
And that obtained by rapine and by stealth?
With Asiatic vices stored thy mind
But left their virtues and their own behind,
And having trucked thy soul, brought home the fee
To tempt the poor who sell himself to thee."

" Cowper," says Macaulay in his essay on Lord Clive " in that lofty ' Expostulation ' which glows with the very spirit of the Hebrew poets, placed the oppression of India for most in the list of those national crimes for which God had punished England with years of disastrous war, with discomfiture in her own seas, and with loss of her transatlantic empire." The servants of the Company who for their avarice and extravagance were contemptuously called " Nabobs " were considered in those days as a curse upon England.

In the first book of the "Task" he wonders that the rapacity of the Englishmen in India should go unpunished when petty thieves in England are sent to the gallows:

"That thieves at home must hang, but he that puts
Into his over-gorged and bloated purse
The wealth of Indian provinces escapes."

The lines remind one of the ironic remarks of Bankimchandra's Kamalakanta that the right of conquest is as good a right as the right of theft.

His concern for India which he expresses in a passage in the fourth book of the "Task" shows the sincerity and the intensity of his feeling for the country. There we find him awaiting the postman whose twanging horn he hears and from whom he is anxious to know the latest news about India:

"Is India free? and does she wear her plumed
And jewelled turban with a smile of peace
Or do we grind her still?"

This sudden remembrance of India in such a quiet winter evening as the poet depicts in the poem shows that for India he had a very soft corner in his heart.

Biharilal Chakravarti has not written any poem for the exclusive purpose of expressing his love of freedom but in many of his poems he breaks into patriotic lines. This shows that his love of country is a natural and abiding emotion. Cowper's references to India are as sudden and his feelings for her must be as natural and abiding.

Later in the same book of the "Task" he characterises the British merchants as a corporation of plunderers—

"disclaiming all regard
For mercy and the common rights of man,
Build factories with blood, conducting trade
At the sword's point, and dyeing the white rod
Of innocent commercial justice red."

Cowper might have suspected that the weighing balance of a merchant would be changed overnight into the sceptre of a ruler.

In his letters, too, there are some reproachful references to the members of the East India Company. In a letter written to the

Rev. William Unwin in 1784 he bitterly attacks the Company for its avarice and ruthlessness—

"They have possessed themselves of an immense territory which they have ruled with a rod of iron to which it is impossible they should ever have a right unless such a one as it is a disgrace to plead, the right of conquest. The potentates of this country they dash in pieces like a potter's vessel as often as they please making the happiness of the thirty millions of mankind a consideration subordinate to that of their own emolument ; oppressing them as often as it may serve a lucrative purpose, and in no instance that I have ever heard, consulting their interest or advantage."

In another letter written to Lady Hesketh in 1788 he refers to the impeachment of Warren Hastings and remarks—

"Whatever we are at home, we certainly have been tyrants in the East ; and if these men have, as they are charged, rioted in the miseries of the innocent and dealt death to the guiltless with an unsparing hand, may they receive a retribution that shall in future make all governors and judges of ours, in those distant regions tremble."

Cowper was not a statesman ; but his utterances on India have the accent of those impassioned indictments of the Britishers in India which the two great statesmen of the time made in the House of Commons. The speeches of Fox and Burke on the former's India Bill of 1783 may well be read as an elaborate commentary on Cowper's lines on India and the East India Company.

EDUCATION IN MUSLIM INDIA

S. N. HAIDAR RIZVI, B.C.S.

II

FIRST SYLLABUS FOR COLLEGES

THE result of his success was contributed to the now defunct Journal, *Al-Nadwa* of 1909 A.D. The syllabus differed in different periods of Muslim rule. During the period between the 7th Century A.H. and the end of the 9th Century of Hijra, *i.e.*, till before the reign of Sikander Lodi, *Sarf*, *Nahv*, Eloquence, Principles of Jurisprudence, Logic, Theology, Mysticism, Commentary of the *Koran* and Literature were the subjects included in the study and their mastery was considered to be necessary for qualification.

Greek Philosophy and Logic were very popular. Not much importance was attached to the study of Hadith at this period. One Maulana Shamsuddin, a specialist in Hadith, who came over to India during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Khilji for popularising the study of the traditions returned disappointed as he found the ruler very unresponsive.[1] Another interesting information is that Malikite jurisprudence became popular during the Tughlak period (Popularising) of Indian history.[2]

A learned man of Baghdad visited India during the Tughlak period and brought with him two books namely *Tasrifi Maliki* and *Majmaul Bahrain* on Malikili jurisprudence. Maulana Fakhuruddin Zardazi helped the gentleman by recommending the books to his students and wrote commentaries on them in order to make the subject more popular.

SECOND REVISION OF SYLLABUS FOR COLLEGES

It was in the reign of Sikandar Lodi that Sheikh Abdullah and Sheikh Azizullah, two distinguished savants of Multan, settled down in Delhi.[3] These gentlemen effected certain improvements and changes in the syllabus of study. The disciples of Syed Sharif and Allama Taftazane also introduced some of the books of their famous teachers.

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[1] Tarikh Firuz Shahi of Barn.
[2] Siyarul Auliya.
[3] Badauni.

We have already noted the absence of traditions in the approved syllabus till at the end of this period. During the reign of Sikandar Lodi a celebrated scholar Syed Rafiuddin Salimi came to India. He began to popularise traditions and many distinguished Scholars of the age received instruction in *Hadith* at his house.[1] Later on Sheikh Abdul Haq *Muhaddis* of Delhi and Sheikh Jamaluddin popularised the study of Hadith in India as we will notice later on.

Third Revision of Syllabus for Colleges

Maathirul Karam of Ghulamali Azad, although written towards the end of 18th century, makes a positive statement that the syllabus of studies was revised in Akbar's time[2] and King appointed Shah Fatehulla Shirazi with the title of Azadul Mulk. The latter added Philosophy, Mathematics and Medicine and *Hadith* to the subjects of study. We read in the "*Wasiyat nama*" of Shah Waliullah that History and Political Science were also the subjects for study. Unfortunately we could not trace the names of the books prescribed for the latter two subjects.

Fourth Revision of Syllabus for Colleges

The fourth attempt towards improving and reforming the syllabus was made by Mulla Nizamuddin, in the early part of 12th century A.H. The changes effected were considerable.[3] I have preferred to give the complete syllabus and the list of books as approved and introduced by him.

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[1] Muntakhabut Tawarikh of Badauni, Rauzatul-Ulema and Akbar-ul-Akhyar.

[2] Maathirul Karam of Ghulamali Azad.

[3] *Darsi Nizamia* was introduced by Nizamuddin Sihalvi a resident of Sihali near Lucknow. The Mv. lived during the reign of Alamgir and was the founder of the famous Arabic School of Lucknow. Known as Firangi Mahal, many of the books which are used in connection with the Nizamia Syllabus were written by the pupils of Mulla Nizamuddin Sihalvi. The commentary on Logic was written by Mv. Nizamuddin and the book on Muhammadan law was written by Hafiz Muhibullah of Bihar, a pupil of Mv. Nizamuddin's father. The Nizamia Syllabus was modified in Delhi by Shah Waliullah (died in 1174 A.H.) who introduced into it the teaching of *Hadith* and prescribed Sihab Satta as a book for study (the traditions of the prophet). The modification was accepted by the Schools of Lucknow and Deoband. The syllabus was introduced in Bengal by Mullah Bahrululum, son of Mulla Nizamuddin.

The syllabus was so comprehensive that it was survived down to our own days and its name *Darse Nizamia* is known to all of us though most of us do not know of the origin.

FIFTH REVISION OF SYLLABUS FOR COLLEGES

Then the fifth change was made and the syllabus was remodelled during the closing period of the Timurids.

By the way we may point out that some changes effected this time were the changes unfortunately for the worse. They were brought about at a time when the fall of the Muslim power in India was imminent and decay had already set in.

Three new subjects, *viz.*, *Faraiz* (duties) *Manadhira* (controversy) and principles of Hadith were introduced. For *Faraiz, Sharifia* ; for *Mānadhira*, Reshidia and for the third subject the explanatory notes of *Nakhbatul Fikr* were recommended. At this period considerable importance was attached to Logic and *Hadith*. For Logic the students were burdened with a huge list of books to be studied. Literature was considerably neglected and consequently neglect of Literature told heavily on the general intelligence and capacity of students.

BOOKS PRESCRIBED FOR THE COLLEGES TILL THIRD REVISION OF THE SYLLABUS

1. Nahv (Syntax) : *Misbah, Kafia* (by Nasiruddin Baidawi), and *Irshad* (by Kadi Shihabuddin of Daulatabad). After the second revision of Syllabus *Sharha Mutala* was added.

2. Jurisprudence : *Hidaya*. After second revision explanatory comments on Wakaya were added.

3. Principles of jurisprudence : *Minar* with its commentaries and *Usul-i-Baidawi*, after second revision *Tanzih Talwih* was added.

4. Commentary (*Tafsir*) *Madarik, Baidawi* and *Kashshaf*. (In the third revision *Kashshaf* was dropped.)

5. Mysticism (*Tasawwuf*) *Awarif, Ahyaul-ulum, Fusus-ul-Hakam*, Ḳuwat-ul-Ḳulub, a little later *Nakdunnasus* and *Lamaat* were also added. In the third revision *Resalai Naqshbandia* and explanatory notes of Jami were added.

6. Literature (*a*) Prose: *Makamat Hariri* (stress was laid on memorising), (*b*) Poetry: *Sabatul MuallaKat*.

7. Logic: Explanatory notes on *Shamsa.*

8. Theology: Explanatory notes of *Sahaif* or the introduction of Abu Shakur Salimi. After second revision, explanatory notes on *Aqaid Nasifi* and *Muwafiq* were added. The third revision added *Hashia-i-Khiyali.*

9. Eloquence: *Mukhtasar* and *Matul* were prescribed after second revision.

10. *Hadith* (after third revision): Part of *Bukhari* and *Shamail Tirmizi.*

11. Philosophy (after third revision): Explanatory notes of *Hidayatul Hikmat.*

12. Mathematics (after third revision): A few tracts on Mathetics were prescribed. Names of books could not be traced.

13. Medicine (after third revision): *Mujiz-ul-Qanun.*

14. History (after third revision): Names of the books could not be traced.

15. Political Science (after third revision): Names of books could not be traced.

BOOKS PRESCRIBED IN THE FOURTH REVISION OF SYLLABUS

Nizamia Syllabus:

1. Sarf (Etymology): *Mizan, Manshaab, Sarfe Mir. Panjgang, Zabda, Fusul Akbari* and *Shafiya.*

2. Nahvi (Syntax): *Nahve Mir,* the explanatory notes of *Maiti Amil, Hidyatun Nahv, Kafiya,* and the explanatory notes of Jami.

3. (a) Logic: *Sughra, Kubra, Isaygoji, Tahzib,* the explanatory notes of *Tahzib, Kutibi with Mir,* and *Silmul-Ulum,* (b) *Hikmat* (Philosophy)-*Mabzi, Sadra* and *Shams bazgha.*

4 Mathematics (including Astronomy): *Khulasatul Hisab* and the first chapter of Euclid. Besides *Tashrihul Aflak Risal-ai-koshjya* and the first chapter of *Chighman.*

5. Eloquence: *Mukhtasir Maani,* and a part of original *Maani.*

6. Jurisprudence: The first portion of the explanation and the later portion of the original *Hidaya.*

7. The principles of jurisprudence: *Nurual Anwar, Tanzih Talqih* and *Muslamus-thabut.*

8. Theology—The explanatory notes of *Aqaid Nasafi* and books on Aqaid by *Jalali, Muwafiq,* and *Mir Zahid.*

9. Commentary: *Jalalain* and *Baidawi*.
10. Hadith: *Mishkatul Masabih*.

PERIOD OF ATTENDANCE IN COLLEGES

It is difficult to say what was the period of attendance in the classes. We find only one reference about the time of Jahangir. Sheikh Abdul Haq, *Mahaddis* of Delhi writes in Akhbarul Akhyar that the hours of study were from morning till noon and then from Zuhar prayer (after-noon prayer) till evening.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Schools and colleges had no provision for technical subjects. But those who had aptitude for arts and crafts would go to the houses of Technical experts and take them as their *ustads*. But such arts and crafts were mostly hereditary. The father was the teacher of the sons, the mother of daughters. Thus that training in particular arts and crafts was popularly imparted. Industrial education was imparted through the system of apprenticeship. The *Shuhrat-e-Am* (public works) department looked after it. The boys were often apprenticed with the artisans to the trade. The artisans received, thus, the services of the apprentice and the later in turn the tips about the trade. The boys began their technical education at an early age. At first they were expected to undertake the duties of the shop, such as the cleansing and fitting of tools. Later they began to perform the simplest operations of the trade. There was little definite instruction in theory but they gradually acquired skill by handling the tools and watching the workmen at their task. As soon as they made a little progress they were given small wages which went on increasing as they became more expert. After receiving full training either they went away to work independently or secured a permanent place in the master's shop.[1]

Firuz Tughlak took a keen interest in the technical education of his slaves whom he had placed under the tuition of masters,—craftsmen in their workshops for learning different arts. There were in all one hundred and eighty thousand slaves at his disposal whom he got trained in arts and crafts. Barni writes that at one time one batch of twenty thousand slaves were turned into skilled artisans and tradesman under his care.[1]

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[1] Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. 1, pp.436.

Such interest in technical education led to an abundant increase in the number of the technical experts. Babur[2] certifies to it. He says "for any work or any employment there is always a set ready to whom some employment and trade have descended from father to son for ages." Bernier also has during the reign of Aurangzeb at a later period testified to this statement.[3]

FEMALE EDUCATION

We have already discussed that in primary schools there was co-education. Now we have to see what the Muslims did for the higher education of females. Without entering into unnecessary details we would only refer to the activities of Sultan Ghiyathsuddin Khilji of Malwa.[4] He got the females educated in different arts and sciences. The historian states that some were taught the arts of goldsmith and ironsmith. Some were taught carpenter's work and trained in building ships. Tailoring, cooking, shoe-making, pottery, embroidery, oarsmanship and jugglery were common and ordinary subjects taught. Dance and music were also not neglected. The Sultan, in his zeal to promote education among females and equip them for manly works and duties, went so far as to impart even military education to the girls. He had an army of Turks and 500 Abyssinian female soldiers expert in the use of arms. He made his palace a centre of female education and the popularity of female education became so keen that a sufficiently big town inhabited by ladies sprang up. Only in his palace there were one thousand such educated ladies who had committed the entire Koran to memory. We are to remember that it was simply for his love of female education and we should not be misled to think that it was in any way aimed at satisfying his sexual passion or bad taste. All the historians are unanimous in pronouncing him as the most religious and virtuous of kings. All the acts were purely humanitarian and were aimed at improving the condition of the fair sex in order to make them useful members of the society. These educated ladies were recruited for the Govt. services and as a step towards encouragement the king had opened a department in the palace where ladies performed all the duties of men. A *durbar* was held in the palace just as it was held outside. These ladies held the posts of *Amirul-Omra*, *Vazir*, *Wakil*, *Sarjamadar*, *Khazinadar*, etc., and it will be quite absurd to say that his attempt was only an innovation. It must have been an improvement on the policy of former Muslim kings and it cannot be regarded as an isolated example with no past and precedent.[1] Smiths in his Architecture at Fatehpur Sikri reproduces a plan of girls' school in Akbar's palace at Fatehpur Sikri. It surely indicates the interest of Akbar in female education. Ibn Battuta reports that there were 13 schools for girls only at Hinwar, and the ladies could generally read Koran. Many had even committed the Koran to memory.[2]

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[1] Barni : Tarikh Firuz Shahi
[2] "Memoirs" edited by Erskine, Vol. II, pp. 243-44.
[3] Bernier : Travels in Mughal Empire, pp. 258-59.
[4] Firishta

Education of the Hindus

Another question to be discussed is whether all these educational activities of the Muslims were meant only for the muslims and they considered themselves to be responsible only for the education of their Muslim subjects. Undoubtedly this is not the fact. The State looked after the education of all without distinction of caste and creed. We read in the pages of the *Ain* that *Vedanta* and *Patanjal* were included in the subjects of study. I am tempted to think that both Hindus and Muslims attended the schools and colleges without distinction and these institutions were open to all. Only at Silapur in the district of Hooghly there were left about 150 educational institutions till the close of 18th Century A.D. which may be said to be the true representatives of the prevalent[1] *educational system.* In these schools even Muslim students studied the Theology and Philosophy of the Hindus. In schools and colleges the Hindus and Muslims received education in Arabic and Persian. If such were not the case how could the Hindus secure complete mastery over persian and distinguished themselves as great Scholars and writers of this language. Besides Persian was the Court Language, and unless they were educated in these Institutions how did they manage to acquire this tongue and enter the Government services. We read that Hindus began to take interest in Persian since the days of Sikander Lodi and it is probable that Hindus began to enter these schools and colleges at that time. Mr. P. C. Manuk, Barrister-at-law of Bankipur, has in his collection [illegible] picture illustrating Hakikat Rai of Lahore, a Hindu student, attending a school and being punished for some offence by the Moulavi.

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[1] For example I may refer to military training among ladies. Besides Sultana Rezya and Nurjehan Begam, we read that one Gule Behisht, a lady general of the army was sent by Sultan Alauddin Khilji against Kaner Deo of Jalor. (Firishta). Then in the seige of Bijapure, Jani Begum, the daughter of Dara Shikoh and wife of Azam Shah (Sirarul Mutakherin Vol.IV) took once active part in battle. Another illustration is of Zero Mah, the queen of Kutub Shah. She was seen with a Sabre in hand at the head of Tartart and Habshi armed slaves when Syed Ahmad wanted to capture the throne against Abul Hasan. (Siyar Vol. IV)

[2] Lee : Ibn Battuta, p. 165.

In addition to these joint educational institutions the State and the princes as well as well-to-do persons of both the communities, *i.e.*, Hindus and Musalmans endowed temples with lands and *Jagirs* for not only maintaining temples but also the schools attached to the temple. Generally the schools attached to temples in villages were of primary standard, but the temples in towns imparted education which may roughly be described as that of secondary School and College Standard. Till about 1791, there existed in all parts of the province a considerable number of private institutions where the indigenous learning was assiduously cultivated. The State utilized the pilgrims tax for the education of the Hindu students by creating endowments for these temples.[2] Mussalmans realized pilgrim tax from the Hindus. The money derived from this source was credited to Hindu temples for maintaining schools.[3]

[1] Khurshid Jehannuma, p. 511 (Buhar Library Calcutta MS.).
سیلا پور مقامی است در علاقۂ هگلي - در سنه ۱۸۰۱ع سی کس طالب العلم در مدرسه انجا تحصیل علوم عربی و فارسي مي نمودند - اعانت مدرسه مذکور از محاصل اراضیات عطیۂ مرضیه نواب گورنر هیسٹنگس بهادر بود میشد و هم در آنجا قریب یکصد و پنجاه مدرسه های خاص مردمان که در هریکی از ان ها از پنج تا بست و پنج کس طالب العلمان تحصیل وصول علم دینۂ هنود میکردند مقرر بود فاما درین روزها همه آنها رو در تنزل رسانیده است -

[2] Max Müller writes on a strength of a report written by some Christian Missionary that only in Bengal there were sixty-thousand Pathshalas, before the advent of the British in India (*Cf.* India by K. Hardy or Hardie, p. 5). See also Calcutta University, Commission Report.

[3] Majma-ul-Baledan of Yakut who bases his account on Istakharis' book, vol. 8, p. 201.

The principal seats of Hindu learning were Benares, Darbhanga, Puri, Bhatpara, Nadia and Vikrampur. The educational institutions and academies at these places were maintained partly by the State endowment and partly by the endowment granted by the Hindu chiefs owing allegiance to Muslim rulers. The liberal patronage was not only bestowed by princes and others in power and authority but also by *Zamindars.* Not only institutions but also persons distinguished as learned men received patronage and allowances from the State and the people and they in return imparted free education to Hindu students. The Hindu students in all these schools, which were known as *tols*, were taught the following subjects.

Logic (*Nyaya*), Law (*Smriti*), Philosophy (*Darsana*), Grammar (*Vyakarana*), Astronomy (*Jyotish*), Medicine (*Ayurveda*), Literature, Mathematics, *Vedanta*, *Prakrit*, *Vedas* and *Yoga*.

EXAMINATION AND STUDIES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The students were properly examined. The examination took the form of oral debates and discussions in assemblies of Pandits which frequently met in some public place.

May he be a Hindu or a Mussalman, when the student qualified himself at the examination, then a title was conferred on him which indicated the standard of his learning. Students used to go for studies to foreign countries and seats of learning like Baghdad, Mecca, Madina, Shiraz, Nishapur, Balkh, etc.[1]

The reputation of Indian Scholars and Educational institutions and academies had spread throughout Asia and students from all parts of Asia visited India and studied here for years together as students.[2]

Laboratories for research work in different known sciences were set up. The great scholar and General Khan-i-Khanan is famous for his patronage to scientists by setting up laboratories at Agra and Gujrat.[3]

For astronomical research many Muslim kings got observatories constructed for the use of astronomers. Even to-day we can notice the remains of that famous observatory at Delhi which was constructed by Muhammad Shah for the use of the great astronomer Raja Jaisingh of Ambar.[1]

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[1] Barni and Firishta.
[2] Badauni, p. 335.
[3] Maathir Rahimi.

It is no wonder therefore that India could produce, under such system and facilities of education, Historians, Mathematicians, Architects, Sculptors, doctors, Statesman, poets, Generals, Musicians, and dancers who challenged places of honour not only in their time but also in our own.

REASONS FOR EDUCATIONAL DECAY IN INDIA AFTER MUSLIM RULE

The readers may pertinently ask then what happened to this net work of educational institutions and why there is so much illiteracy to be found in India at present. If there was such an extensive organisation for education then there ought to have been naturally a nation claiming an overwhelming majority of literates. The simple reason for this is that all of a sudden the power slipped from the hands of the Indians into that of the Company. The Company realised revenue but did not spent a pice on education. During the early days of the East India Company's rule the promotion of education was not recognised as a duty of the Government. Even in England at that time education was entirely left to private and mainly to clerical enterprise. Says W.W. Hunter (*Vide* Imperial Gazette, Vol. VI, p. 473): "It was only in 1813 that the Directors felt it necessary to give their attention to education. A grant of a small amount of one lakh rupees was granted for the education of the whole country, but definite instructions were issued not to utilise it for starting any school and colleges. The grant was also not properly utilised." The available funds for education purposes were spent partly in printing oriental classics and partly in grants to educational societies, such as the Calcutta School Book Society, Calcutta School Society, etc.[2]

Between 1835 and 1854 practically all the public funds available for education were expended[3] on schools and colleges founded and controlled by Government. Thus the existing indigenous schools were utterly neglected and left to their own resources. Even if they had been left to their resources, it would have helped the education of the masses ; but unfortunately in 1828 the British Government directed a general examination of the title deeds on which really estate was held throughout Bengal. There followed eighteen years of special legal investigation, as the result of which considerable amount of landed property was resumed by Government. The resumption seriously affected the Muslim educational institutions and there were many such which were supported by endowments.[1]

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[1] Sabhatul Marjanfi Tarikh Hindusthan Azad Bilgrami.
[2] Calcutta University Commission Report, Vol. I, p, 32.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 37.

The Directors' despatch of the 29th September, 1830, forwarding the promotion of English has been rightly called by Mr. M. Azizul Haque, the beginning of the close of the Chapter of the Supremacy in India of Persian and Arabic culture.[2]

The country would not have suffered even then, if the wole resources had been utilised for English education. But unfortunaely the problem was tackled leisurely and without proper and scientfic planning. The same fate overtook Hindu Education. The East India Company was indeed supposed to be the guardian of temples and derived a large income from the imposition of a tax called the pilgrim tax. But the responsibility of guardianship was not fully realised and the tax was not utilised for education. It was abolished some time after, but no step was taken to subsidise education from some other tax or fund.[3]

I will do well to sum up the whole history by quoting from the minute recorded by Lord Minto on 6th March, 1811, on education in India. " The principal cause of the present neglected state of literature in India is to be traced to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, Chieftains and opulent individuals under the native Government. Such encouragement must always operate as a strong incentive to study and literary examinations but especially in India, where learned professions have little, if any, other support. The justness of these observations might be illustrated by a detailed consideration of the former and the present state of science and literature at the three principal seats of Hindu learning, namely, Benares, Tirhoot and Nadia. Such a review would bring before us the liberal patronage which was formerly bestowed not only by princes and others in power and authority but also by Zaminders, on persons who had distinguished themselves by the successful cultivation of letters at those places. The cultivation of letters was now confined (because of neglect) to a few surviving persons who had been patronised by the native princes and others under the former Government or to such of the immediate descendants of those persons as had imbibed a love of sciences from their parents."[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 109.
[2] Calcutta University Education Commission Report, Vol. II, p. 82.
[3] *Ibid*, Vol. II, p.p. 82-84.

"In consequence of transfer of diwanie and this sudden change, the Muhammadan families have lost those sources of private emoluments which could enable them to bestow much expenses on the education of their children and are deprived of that power which they formerly possessed of endowing or patronising public seminaries of learning."[2]

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[1] History and Problem of Muslim Education in Bengal by Khan Bahadur M. Azizul Haque, C.I.E.

[2] Warren Hastings in his minute of 21st January, 1788, as reproduced in Bengal Past and Present, pp. 109-111.

SOME OBSERVATION ON THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF MOHAN LAL KASMERIAN

H. R. GUPTA, M.A., PH.D.

II

17. WORK AT KABUL

AT Kabul Mohan Lal was employed in raising money from the bankers, "in translating numerous documents which we discovered relating to the dreadful intrigues of the different chiefs against us," and in carrying on negotiations with the Afghan chiefs.

After some time the affairs in Afghanistan took a serious turn. On the 2nd of November, 1841, an outbreak took place in Kabul. The houses of Mohan Lal, Captain Johnson and Sir A. Burnes were attacked and plundered and Sir A. Burnes was murdered. Mohan Lal was captured by the rebels, and would have been cut to pieces, had not Nawab Muhammad Zaman Khan saved him and taken him to the Persian quarters. He was given shelter in the house of Khan Shirin Khan, the Persian chief. Sir W. Macnaghten was murdered on the 23rd December and the British army was soon afterwards annihilated.

18. HIS ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION AT KABUL

Mohan Lal was not only familiar with the court and cabinet of Kabul, but he knew men of all sorts and kept himself acquainted with unofficial currents of opinion. He could talk freely to the highest officials, to chiefs of the tribes and families, to Mullas and merchants, could put them at their ease and get the information which he wanted. His comprehensiveness was remarkable. The strife of politicians in the foreground did not blur the distant landscape. His despatches, varied and vivacious as they were, proved of the greatest value to the authorities, and furnished excellent reading to-day. His analysis of the Kabul situation is as follows:—(A) "The only mistakes which his lordship (Lord Auckland) committed during the whole Afghanistan affair were on these two points of the gravest importance, one, in appointing two such talented men as Sir William Macnaghten and Sir Alexander Burnes to act at the same time in one field of honour: and the second was that on hearing of the outbreak at Kabul, he delayed in insisting upon the Commander-in-Chief to order an immediate despatch of the troops towards Peshwar."[1]

The differences between these two dignitaries had appeared very early when Sir Alexander Burnes joined the Army of the Indus at Shikarpur; says Mohan Lal: "Here Sir Alexander Burnes stated that he could not proceed with the army to Kabul, to dethrone Amir Dost Mohmmad Khan, with whom we have dined, and who had treated us as private friends. He added, that his presence in that capital, while under Sir William Macnaghten, would cause a sort of difference in the opinion of the chiefs in that country."[2]

I quote a few more instances of this dissension:

"Abdullah Khan Achakzai could not bear the treatment we gave to the chiefs when they visited Sir Alexander Burnes. They were kept waiting for hours near the door-keeper and then referred to me, as he did not like to see them, for fear of being supposed desirous of interfering with the business of the envoy, as he notes himself in these words: 'I am hardly to be blamed, for I have no responsibility, and why should I work?' "

Just a little before the outbreak took place at Kabul, Mohan Lal discussed the whole situation with Sir Alexander Burnes and asked him to change their policy. "The reply was that he does not like to meddle with the arrangements made by the envoy."[3]

On the 2nd of November, 1841, when Sir Alexander Burnes's house was besieged by the rebels he sent a note to Sir William Macnaghten for help, but it was never sent. Says Mohan Lal: The rebels "were not accompanied with more than fifty men, but not a battalion was sent to our protection."[4] Further on he remarks: "The Shah's own regiment, under Mr. Campbell came to support Sir Alexander Burnes and had a hard conflict with the rebels, and as they received no succour, they were at last obliged to give way, nearly all of them being cut to pieces, and their guns captured."[5]

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[1] Life of Dost Mohd., ii, 305.
[2] Travels, 446.
[3] Punjab Govt. MS. Records, Book 41-c-62.
[4] Vincent Eyre's journal, 413.
[5] Dost Mohd., ii, 407.

These mutual disagreements between Englishmen themselves, had considerably weakened the position of Sir W. Macnaghten. Before he went to meet Mohammed Akbar on the fatal day of his murder, he had " entreated the military authorities to have two regiments ready outside the cantonment, with the view that, if Mohammed Akbar Khan was sincere, he might employ them for offensive acts against Amin Ullah Khan and if he was not sincere, they would take a defensive part and protect his person."[1]

In short Sir William Macnaghten went out of the cantonments to meet Mohammed Akbar, and " looked back and saw that no troops were ordered according to his suggestions."[2]

" Very extraordinary indeed was the heroism of the British officers and troops," says he "to see their chief murdered within the distance of a musket shot, in the face of the English camp, and yet not to fire a gun on the perpetrators of the murder, nor on the draggers of his body which lay for sometime in the plains ; I repeat it here again, that if the pride of power had not wrought upon the minds of political chiefs, they were sufficiently aware of the impending danger, and fully able to destroy it before it broke open on our heads ; and the insurrection would not have grown so fatally strong, and continued from the 2nd of November, to the 22nd of December, if four Companies of soldiers from the Cantonment had been sent to save Sir Alexander Burnes in the commencement of the outbreak. And if the two regiments, as ordered by Sir William Macnaghten, had been sent out when he proceeded to treat with Mohammed Akbar Khan, the envoy in all probability would not have been murdered."[3]

Even some Englishmen proved traitors to their own cause. They had unfair dealings with Mohammed Akbar Khan. Mohan Lal says that they " flattered him most imprudently by giving him the views of all the parliamentary speeches, and by assuring him that England will not keep possession of Afghanistan, but that it disapproved the policy of the Indian Government, and has ordered the evacuation of that country. Why such information and speeches were translated by some of us to please Akbar Khan is a matter for others to determine, and is not one of my suggesting."[4]

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[1] Dost Mohd., ii, 422-23.
[2] *Ibid.*, 423.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii, 427.
[4] *Ibid.*, ii, 425-26.

(B) British Officers' Intrigues with Afghan Women

Mohan Lal denies the rumour "believed in the circles of the high authorities both in Europe and in India," which he says "is a most unjust and misrepresented accusation against Sir Alexander Burnes, for intriguing with the ladies of Abdullah Khan, the Achakzai chief." Further on he says: "I know well that the exposure of the truth on this subject will cause the animosity of many persons towards me. However, I shall not mention the names of the persons."

(i) One of the favourite concubines of Abdullah Khan, a prominent chief and one of the principal leaders of the late outbreak, left his house, and took shelter in the house of a "Sahab Log." He could not get her back through polite applications to that officer, and he therefore sent his nephew to complain to Sir Alexander Burnes. Burnes, "instead of giving soft words to the sufferer, said angrily that he was making false accusations against 'Sahab Log,' and then turned him out of the presence."[1]

(ii) "A gentleman who had taken up his quarters at the house of Nawab Jabbar Khan, won the heart of the favourite lady of his neighbour Nazir Ali Mohammed, and she, crossing the wall by the roof, came to him. The Nazir waited upon me, and I reported the circumstance to Sir Alexander Burnes while the defendant was breakfasting with him. He of course denied having ever seen the lady, on which the Nazir was dismissed, and I myself was always disliked from that day by that gentleman for reporting that fact...... The lady was openly sheltered at the house of the same gentleman, after some time, and came to India under the protection of his relatives."[2]

(iii) "A European subordinate to the staff officer contrived the escape of another lady to his residence in the Cantonment. The husband of the lady "complained to all the authorities, and offered a very large sum to the King to have his fair wife restored to him; but she was not given up. He at last sat at the door of Sir William Macnaghten, and declared that he had resolved to put an end to his own life by starvation. When that authority appeared partly determined to order the lady to be given to her lawful husband, she was secretly removed to a house in the city. Hereupon the envoy appointed two of his orderly men to enter the house, and to give her into the charge of the plaintiff; but now the very officer who had offended Nazir Ali Mohammed and Hazar Khan Kotwal came to Sir Alexander and begged him to pacify the envoy, which he agreed to do. On this a sum of four hundred or five hundred rupees was offered to the husband if he will give up his claim to his wife and Sir Alexander Burnes employed Nayab Sharif and Hayat Qaflahbashi to persuade the poor husband of the lady to accept these terms, stating that otherwise he will incur the displeasure of that authority. The poor man had no remedy but to fly to Turkistan, without taking the above-mentioned sum." [1]

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[1] Dost Mohd., ii, 393-94.
Ibid., ii, 394-95.

(*iv*) "Two other gentlemen lived opposite to the house of the Nawab Mohammed Zaman Khan and Quddos Khan, and wrought a change upon the affections of their respective favourites. When all endeavours failed to get them back, the good Nawab wrote a civil note to the possessor of his fair one, saying that he himself had no need for her, and that he (the Englishman) had better keep her for ever. That gentleman having now been joined by his own wife has at length left her, I think, in an unprovided and destitute condition. But the other one belonging to Quddos Khan is well and respectably treated by her paramour." [2]

(*v*) Mir Ahmad Khan, brother of Abdullah Khan Achakzai was deprived of his fiancée. She was taken from the house of her parents and given shelter in the house of a "Sahab Log," and was never returned.[3]

(*vi*) Even the menial servants forcibly brought Afghan women in the Cantonment. When Nawab Jubbar Khan was leaving the Cantonment after his visit to that place, he heard the shrieks of a woman "captured by a waterman of the Sergeant of the Mission." [4]

Mohan Lal remarks:—

"These instances of gallantry in the gentlemen, with numerous cases of the same nature, were disgraceful and abnorrent to the habits and to the pride of the people whom we ruled and it was the partiality of Sir Alexander Burnes to his friends in these circumstances which made him obnoxious to dislike, and wounded the feelings of the chiefs, who formerly looked upon him as their old friend and guardian." [1]

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[1] Dost Mohd., *ii*, 395-97.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 397.
[3] *Ibid.*, 397-98.
[4] *Ibid.*, ii, 236-37.

19. SECURING THE HEADS OF THE AFGHAN REBELS

Mohan Lal served the British Government not only by corrupting the Afghan chiefs by appealing to their cupidity and advancing them lakhs of rupees under the instructions of the envoy, but also in securing heads of certain leaders of the revolt. The former I omit for want of space, but will give a little attention to the latter, without going into details. Lieutenant John Conolly, the envoy's cousin and immediate political assistant, in a letter dated Bala Hissar, the 5th November, 1841, writes: "Tell the Kuzzilbash chiefs, Shereen Khan, Naib Sheriff, in a fact all the chiefs of Sheeah persuasion, to join against the rebels. You can promise one lakh of rupees to Khan Shereen on the condition of his killing and seizing the rebels and arming all the Sheeahs, and immediately attacking all rebels. This is the time for the Sheeahs to do good service. Explain to them that, if the Soonees once get the upper hand in the town, they will immediately attack and plunder their part of the town; hold out promises of reward and money; write to me very frequently. Tell the chiefs who are well disposed, to send respectable agents to the envoy. Try and spread *nifak* among the rebels. In everything that you do consult me, and write very often. Meer Hyder Purja Bashi has been sent to Khan Shereen, and will see you."

And in a postscript to this letter appeared the words: "I promise 10,000 rupees for the head of each of the principal rebel chiefs." [2]

On the 11th of November, John Conolly again wrote to Mohan Lal: "Why do you not write? What has become of Meer Hyder? Is he doing anything with Khan Shereen? You never told me whether you had written to Naib Humza. What do the rebels propose doing now? Have you not made any arrangements about the bodies of the murdered officers? Offer 2,000 rupees to any one who will take them to cantonments, or 1,000 to any one who will bury them. Has not Sir Alexander's body been found? Give my *salaam* to the Naib. If Khan Shereen is not inclined to do service try other Kuzzilbash chiefs independently. Exert yourself, write to me often, for the news of the Kossids is not to be depended on. There is a man called Hadjee Ali, who might be induced by a bribe to try and bring in the heads of one or two of the mufsids. Endeavour to let him know that 10,000 rupees will be given for each head, or even 15,000 rupees. I have sent to him two or three times." [1]

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[1] Dost Mohd., ii, 398.

[2] Quoted in Kaye's History, ii, 202.

Mohan Lal consequently selected two men Mir Masjidi and Abdullah Khan who were " the boldest and most influential leaders of the insurgents," and they " were soon numbered amongst the dead." [2] Mohan Lal, with a Shylock nicety refused to pay the balance to the assassins, alleging that the heads had not, according to agreement, been brought in. Consequently, the assassins, disappointed of their blood money, did not take any further service of the same nature.

Mohan Lal had paid his own money to his secret agents for securing the murder of these two persons, and later on he claimed this money from the Government of India. I have traced a few letters on this subject in the Punjab Government Record Office. One of them addressed by A. F. Richmond, Agent, Governor-General N. W. Frontier to H. Currie, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, dated Ludhiana, the 18th November, 1843, says:—

" 2. As desired by Mr. Thomason's letter, I required Moonshee Mohan Lal to produce original letters which he willingly complied with, and assented to their being forwarded to Government in order that all doubt as to their authenticity might be removed by comparing the writing with that of other documents which doubtless are to be found in the Government Office. I, therefore, forward the original notes and letters numbered 1 to 10 inclusive, agreeably to the list which accompanies them.

" 3. It appears almost superfluous my troubling you with any observations regarding these several documents, as they are sufficiently explanatory in themselves, and on perusal of them Government will have no difficulty in judging of the meaning intended to be conveyed by the instructions to Moonshee Mohan Lal, provided the letters are found to be authentic."[3]

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[1] Quoted in Kaye's History, 218.

[2] *Ibid.*, 365-66.

[3] Punjab Govt. MS. Records, Book 158, letter 163. All these letters addressed by Macnaghten to Mohan Lal have been discovered by me in the Imperial Records Department, and I am using them in the Biography of Mohan Lal.

20. RELEASE OF BRITISH PRISONERS

After some time Mohan Lal fell into the hands of Mohammed Akbar Khan who severely tortured him. Even in confinement when he was daily bastinadoed, he contrived to negotiate with various chiefs for the release of British prisoners, who were being taken across the Hindukush to Bokhara to be sold as slaves under the charge of Saleh Muhammad Khan, and he admirably succeeded in this undertaking. I quote here only a few acknowledgments to this effect:—

(i) Major-Generel Pollock to Major-General Lumley:—

"I cannot conclude without recording my opinion, that to Khan Sheereen Khan and Mohan Lal, may be attributed the safety of the prisoners."

(ii) R. Shakespeare to the Governor-General:—

"Mohan Lal deserves the credit of having been the first to open the negotiation with Saleh Mohammad which so happily terminated in the release of our prisoners."

(iii) J. Outram to the Governor-General:—

"Mohan Lal, of Indian celebrity, of whom you have read and heard as the travelling companion of Burnes, and the......man who, amongst all the British prisoners at Kabul, did......most to uphold our honour and rescue our countrymen: I am sure I need say no more to interest your Lordship; but I may add that you will find him most intelligent on all Indian subjects, and particularly conversant with all relating to the Sikhs and our north-western frontier."

21. BACK TO INDIA

Mohan Lal reached back to Ludhiana in January, 1843. At Karnal he met Mr. George Clerk who displayed genuine interest in Mohan Lal's progress. He frequently recommended him to the Government, and when he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Agra, he recommended him for the post of the Deputy Collector of Rohtak, but this proposal did not materialise owing to the severe opposition of Major Broadfoot whom he had offended in Afghanistan by dining in the officer's mess. Mr. Clerk then collected all the public records from the office in Fort William regarding his services from 1831 to 1843, and submitted his case for the consideration of the Governor-General, and ultimately got him attached to the political agency on the North-Western Frontier, under the envoy at the court of Lahore.

22. VISIT TO ENGLAND AND GERMANY

Mohan Lal remained at Ludhiana, doing nothing, and therefore he obtained leave of absence for eighteen months. He left Ludhiana on the 2nd April, 1844. At Indore he met his friend Shahamat Ali, the Persian Secretary to the Resident. He sailed from Bombay on the 19th July.

Mohan Lal visited England, Scotland and Ireland and received warmest hospitality from hundreds of Englishmen, including dozens of Lords and Mayors who tried their best to make his visit interesting and pleasant. His Royal Highness Prince Albert invited him for an interview in the Buckingham Palace, and met him several times afterwards at other places. Lord Ashley presented him to Her Majesty Queen Victoria. Afterwards the Queen invited him to a ball in the Buckingham Palace.

The bazars and theatres of London reminded him of " the fabulous tales of the gardens of the fairies." About the houses of England he has a complaint. " The houses are regularly built but very small and hot, by keeping the windows always shut. I never allowed the windows of my bedroom to be altogether shut, and the curtains were never drawn. England is not so cold as the people pretend. I always wore a thin shirt and white trousers. The rooms where dancing is kept up in private balls are awfully heated. I once fainted in one of these rooms, in the month of February, while I was sitting and enjoying a dance." His complaint about London is the fog and the smoke of the place. He was also very much struck by the extreme poverty of Ireland. " It was heart-rending to see the men and women, with large families, walking without shoes and sufficient clothing in the most piercing cold." Mohan Lal then paid a visit to Belgium and Germany. At Berlin His Majesty Frederick William IV, King of Prussia, invited him to dinner. He was warmly received by the King and the Queen. The King shook hands with him, talked to him in beautiful English and afterwards presented him with " a most charming likeness of his Majesty the King of Prussia. It was exquisitely carved in ivory, in a frame of solid gold, richly embossed and enamelled, and bearing the following inscription, in the German language:—

An
Mohan Lal Mirza,
Aus Dem Stamme
Der Firsten,
Von Kaschmir,

Friedrich Wilhelm IV
Konig Von Preussen,
M. Decc. XLV.

Mohan Lal returned from Europe about the end of 1846. The Directors of the East India Company granted him a pension of £1,000 per annum; but it was attached by Mohan Lal's creditors partly on account of the money borrowed by him in Afghanistan for the British forces on his own responsibility and which was not paid to him, and partly to his extravagant style of living. Mohan Lal then made piteous appeals to the British Government to give him a post of Mir Munshi even on Rs. 150 per mensem, but this request was never granted. So Mohan Lal spent his days of retirement in misery and misfortune.

23. Capture and Escape during the Mutiny

About his capture and escape in 1857, Mohan Lal states in a letter which we quote below:—

To
The Secretary of the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab,
Foreign Department, Lahore.

Sir,

I have the honour to state that after being plundered in Delhi on the 13th of May of all my property (excepting the library which was in next house) to the value of about 10,000 Rupees, and twice seized by the mutineers for being shot, I managed on the 26th of May last to steal my escape from that city concealed in " Palkee " in the train of the family of " Wulleedad Khan " Talookdar of " Malaghur," 2 miles north of " Boolundshur " on the Meerut road, with the view of my going to Agra or Meerut.

2nd. " Wulleedad Khan " was a loyal subject and pensioner of the Government till the 10th of July last, during which space of time he continued to meet the collector and obey his orders.

3rd. Mr. Sapte, the collector, desired me to keep him informed of the state of things of " Malaghur " and its owner and thus I became the medium of his communications as will be seen by his letters marked in the margin and when Wulleedad Khan rebelled I became a prisoner.

4th. " Rao Goolab Singh " a loyal and greatly rich " Talookdar" sent a party of horsemen with letter (at my secret request) asking the rebels to release and send me to him, but the Traitor would not agree, having intention to murder me on the day of his Fort being attacked and favourable terms not granted to him by our Government.

5th. However through the aid of the merciful Providence I contrived on the 29th of July last to escape from the Fort of " Malaghur" to " Bahadur Ghur " on the Ganges, where Mr. Sapte, the collector of Boolund Shuhur, and Mr. Dunlop, the collector of Meerut, sent me letters as marked in the margin. The latter gentleman did also send an escort kindly for my protection.

6th. In Meerut Mr. Williams, the Commissioner, requested me to submit to him the plan of the " Malaghur " Fort with report on its defences and which I have given him as you will see by the copies of the report and acknowledgments marked in the margin and now a force has been sent to punish the traitor.

7th. In a few days I shall be at Kurnaul. If it would please the Chief Commissioner to employ my poor services with force, or with an officer, coming to the camp before Delhie, they are at his disposal. It is the bounden duty of every loyal subject and faithful servant of the British Government to volunteer himself for services in any way they may be required of him at this crisis.

8th. May the British flag be hoisted on the Palace of Delhi, and in every disturbed station, and the rebels' annihilation are my poor prayers to the almighty God.

I have the honour to be,
SIR,
Your most obedient and humble servant,
Mohan Lal.

4th Septr., 57.
Meerut.

Tell Munshi Mohun Lal that I am much obliged to him for his letter and narrative, but that I have no occasion for his services.

8th Sept.

1857 Deptt.
From
Moonshee Mohun Lal,
Meerut,
D/4
R. 8 Sept.

Forwarded copies of certain documents and details, the manner he effected his escape from the insurgents at Delhi and Malagurh and offers his services for employment on the present emergency.

24. CONCLUSION

To conclude this sketch I may perhaps record that Mohan Lal embraced Islam, became a Shia, retained his assumed name of Hasan Jan and got the appellation of Agha into the bargain. He was probably led to take this step in view of his long residence in Muslim countries, his constant association with the Muslim style of life, the non-co-operation of his Hindu brethren and last but not least the presence of Muslim women in his harem. At Ludhiana, where Mohan Lal seems to have settled down, there is a road called Mohan Lal Road and Imambara known as Imambara of Agha Hasan Jan situated in the Mohan Lal Road. In the Imambara there lives a gentleman named Agha Muhammad Fasih who declares himself a descendant of Mohan Lal and in this capacity receives an allowance of four rupees per mensem from the British Government. The gentleman appears in very poor circumstances ; when I visited him last, I found him in the company of a few young men, probably playing at cards, in a small, dirty room furnished with a broken mat and a rotten *charpai*. He received me very hospitably and served me with a lemonade drink inspite of my protests. He also showed me some papers about Mohan Lal containing a few typed memorials and memoranda.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Death of James Joyce

Mr. James Joyce, the noted writer and author of "Ulysses," has died at a Zurich hospital, aged 56.

Death of Henri Bergson

The death at the age of 82 of Dr. Henri Bergson, the noted French philosopher, is announced in a Vichy Press message.

Henri Louis Bergson was regarded as the greatest French thinker of his day. He represented the modern æsthetic philosophic movement and added scope to the theory of life which is known as Neo-Lamarckism. He was the most strenuous opponent of the mechanical conception of life.

In his most profound work, "L'Evolution Créatrice" Bergson broke completely with all philosophic systems of the past and opened out new ways of thought which led to surprising conclusions. The importance of this book is regarded as equal to that of Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason." In "Le Rire" he struck out in quite a different direction and dealt with the question of the comic spirit. The two works "Matière et Mémoires" and "Introduction a la Metaphysique" gave rise to lively discussions when they first appeared. Among his other books are "Essai sur les Données Immediate" and "L'Energie Spirituelle."

Bergson was in 1901 elected a member of the Academie des Sciences Morales et Philosophiques and in 1914 of the French Academy. He was also a member of the Council of the Legion of Honour. In November, 1928, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature.

Born in Paris, Bergson received his early education at the Lycée Condorcet and later attended the Ecole Normale Supérieure. On completing his training he was appointed teacher of the history of literature. In 1883 he became professor of philosophy at the Angers Lycée and two years later he went to Clermont where he held a similar post. From 1888 to 1889 he was professor at the Collège Rollin, from 1889 to 1897 at the Lycée Henri IV and from 1897 to 1900 he was "Maitre de Conferences" at the Ecole Normale. From 1900 to 1921 he was a member of the staff of the Collège de France in Paris.

Literacy Day in U. P.

The U. P. Government has decided to observe February 16, as the Literacy Day throughout the province to focus the attention of the public on the efforts that are being made to eradicate illiteracy from the province and to take stock of the work done last year.

People and institutions interested in the cause of literacy have been invited to co-operate with the local workers to make the "Day" as successful as during the previous years.

"The important feature of the programme will" says a Press Note "be the part to be played by the students. Students should be speciall invited to take a pledge to work for the literacy and 'no thumb impressiony campaign during the summer vacation. Many Anglo-Vernacular institutions and vernacular Middle Schools have literacy associations. These associations should be encouraged to take their proper share in the celebrations

"Now that the scheme has also been introduced among women it is very desirable that co-operation of the public-spirited ladies should be sought for and local ladies should be requested to take full share in the Literacy Day celebrations."

Rural Careers for Medical Men

The suggestion that a larger number of medical practitioner should settle in villages was made by Dr. Saratshasi Sirkar, in his Presidential Address at the Annual Re-Union of past and present students of the National Medical Institute at 32, Gorachand Road, Calcutta.

After referring to the lack of facilities for proper medical treatment in rural areas Dr. Sirkar described the various difficulties that stood in the way of medical practitioners in villages. He said that despite these difficulties a larger number of qualified medical men should practise in villages, for this would not only benefit the villagers but would also solve to some extent the problem of unemployment among medical men. He also suggested that Government should establish at least one charitable dispensary in each union.

Mr. Rabindranath Ray, Chairman of the Reception Committee, referred to the prevalence of quacks in villages and said that until Government eradicated this evil by legislation the condition of medical licentiates would not improve.

Literacy Campaign

The Allahabad University Social Service League started its cent. per cent. adult literacy campaign in the rural areas close to the University. A party of members of the League left for nearby villages in connection with rural uplift work and to organise a village adult school at Usarahi.

Mysore State Students' Conference

The view that students could no more separate their academic life from real life than a judge could separate his judicial from actual life was expressed by Dr. K. B. Krishna, the Andhra leader, presiding over the Second Mysore State Students' Conference at the Town Hall.

Referring to views recently expressed by Sir Maurice Gwyer on the question, Dr. Krishna said that the Chief Justice had assured them that he had no desire or intention to interfere with the political views of students. Sir Maurice wanted that a clear line should be drawn between the students' academic life and his working hours on the one hand and his outside activities on the other. Dr. Krishna declared that such a separation in actual life was impossible.

Historical Records Commission

The Government of India, it is understood, have been considering the question of re-organising the Indian Historical Records Commission and have already prepared a memorandum on the proposed re-organisation.

It is further understood, Government have sought the views of the provincial governments and the universities on the subject.

18th Century Indian History

Fresh materials to write Indian history of the 18th century, it is understood, have been secured by Dr. N. K. Sinha, Lecturer in History, Calcutta University from reprints of all the MSS. published as also transcripts of unpublished materials to be found at Lisbon, Portugal and Nova Goa (Portuguese India) relating to Portuguese relations with Mysore. An attempt is now being made to get all these Portuguese papers translated into English. Dr. Sinha proposes to make over all these papers, published and unpublished, including their English translation, to the University Library which are expected to be a very valuable addition to its collection.

Military Training

The recent speed-up of advanced training for officers to meet the steadily growing requirements of the defence expansion now in progress is bearing fruit, but, it is pointed out, difficulties are still being felt in obtaining a sufficient number of suitable candidates as cadets for emergency commissions.

Following expansion and intensification of the training of all grades of officers, about a hundred officers will go through the Quetta Staff College every half year. This is some four times the peace-time quota.

The junior officers' training school at Poona, which trains junior officers in the responsibilities of company commanders, has from September last year embarked on a course designed to train 100 officers every two months.

The senior wing of the officers' training school at Belgaum has from April last year been training over 40 every two months in the responsibilities of battalion commanders. This wing is in the near future to be amalgamated at Poona with the Poona School, and the combined output will exceed 20 senior and 80 junior officers trained for battalion and company command respectively every 6 weeks.

As regards new recruitment, despite wide-spread publicity, Indian candidates for emergency commission of a standard suitable to be called up for final interview by the central interview board have not so far become available in the number required.

Advisory Board of Education

The Central Advisory Board of Education concluded its session in Madras recently. It is understood that unanimous agreement was reached on all the questions discussed.

It has been decided to release for sale to the public in future reports of the Proceedings of the Board when these have been confirmed. Until now the proceedings have been kept confidential. A report on the proceedings of the last meeting will be available on February 1.

The Board accepted the invitation of Sir Akbar Hydari, on behalf of the Nizam's Government, to hold its next meeting at Hyderabad on a date to be fixed by the chairman.

Miscellany

THE TREATMENT OF CRIMINALS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

In 1936, the Soviet Government promised a new All-Union criminal code to replace the individual codes existing in each of the seven Republics which made up the Union at that time. As yet there has been no new code enacted, but there has been published a considerable number of articles revealing the outline of the code to come. Writers have not limited themselves to discussion of technical details. They have re-examined basic theories set forth twenty years ago when the first statement of policy relating to criminal law was adopted.

The choice of penalties open to Soviet judges is set forth in part in Article 20 of the 1926 Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R., and it runs from warnings and fines to banishment, compulsory labor in labor camps, or imprisonment. By Article 21, there is added as " an exceptional measure of social defence," the supreme penalty of shooting. In subsequent articles, the code provides for conditional sentences in the form of a suspension of the sentence pending good behavior for a certain specified time, and conditional release before the expiration of the sentence under a system of parole.

Many of these forms of punishment or social defence have fallen into complete disuse. No longer are citizens deprived of their citizenship and banished from the U.S.S.R. This was a penalty which was of value only so long as persons who had worked all their lives for revolution looked upon banishment from the scene of their hopes and struggles as the worst kind of penalty, and only so long as enemies banished abroad could not be of service to outside elements seeking to use disaffected persons in their efforts to unseat the Stalin government. All of the other penalties on the list remain in use, although often not in the manner which early leaders expected.

Lenin sounded the keynote of the early period. He wrote in February, 1919, that there must be greater use of the privilege of suspending sentence, of the penalty of public reprimand, and of the favourite of Soviet penologists—the penalty of correctional labor without deprivation of liberty. Of recent years, the trend appears to have been away from these milder forms. Unfortunately, the statistics for most recent years have not yet been published in detail. Taking the recent sketchy figures with more detailed reports for early years, and with the articles of writers in Soviet legal periodicals who demand a return to the less vigorous policy advocated by Lenin, one gets the impression that, as the total number of criminals diminishes, the remaining criminals face courts which have been showing an inclination toward the more severe forms of punishment which make up in immediate protective qualities what they lack as long-range rehabilitative factors.

Statistics showing the distribution of sentences for the years 1928 to 1934 in the R.S.F.S.R. are as follows:—

Table 1. Forms of Penalties in the R.S.F.S.R. in Percentages

Types of Treatment	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Suspended sentence	7·3	3·4	2·7	4·1	1·1	1·2	1·4
Deprivation of freedom							
(1) To one year	25·6	3·8	1·8	1·9	1·5	0·7	1·4
(2) One to three years	3·9	5·9	6·2	9·1	10·9	11·5	12·7
(3) Three to five years	1·0	1·1	1·0	1·0	2·7	4·5	4·6
(4) Over five years	0·7	0·9	0·6	0·6	3·8	12·3	7·0
Total*	31·2	11·7	9·6	12·6	18·9	29·0	25·7

* These totals are of the item "Deprivation of freedom" only. They do not include "Suspended sentence."

Types of Treatment	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Correctional labor	22·0	50·8	56·9	57.5	54·2	49·7	56·9
Banishment from populated areas with or without obligation to live in specified place	...	1·6	4·5	7·3	3·9	4·3	0·5
Fines	31·0	26·7	17·1	13·1	12·2	7·2	5·3
Public reprimand	2·6	4·4	6·0	4·2	3·7	2·2	2·2
Deprivation of civil and other rights	0·1	0·3	0·5	0·2	0·1	0·08	0·06
Other measures	0·1	0·4	2·5	0·9	5·84	6·3	7·9
Freed from punishment	5·6	0·7	0·2	0·1	0·96	0·04	0·02

As is made clear by these tables, the tendency toward deprivation of freedom has been increasing, but the penalty of correctional labor without deprivation of liberty has also retained much of its popularity with Soviet judges. This latter penalty has long been used as a means of punishing the delinquent while leaving him in the current of his daily life so that he may make use of the opportunity of continued employment to re-establish himself as a law-abiding citizen. In essence, the penalty is a mild one, and has been hailed as indicative of the emphasis of the Soviet penal policy upon rehabilitation rather than punishment. A sentence of this nature provides that the person so sentenced hall works at a specified place, usually the one in which he was employed at the time of committing the crime, for periods ranging up to a year. During this time, the employer must deduct a fixed percentage from his wages, as defined in the sentence. The labour union officials are also to be notified, and it is expected that the criminal will be subjected to some measure of social censure. During the term of the sentence, the person under sentence is not allowed credit toward a pension or toward increases in wages which occur periodically in accordance with the length of time spent on the job.

A similar Table brings the figures up to 1935 for the entire U. S. S. R. It reads as follows:—

Table 2. Forms of Penalties in the U. S. S. R. in Percentages, 1935

Types of Treatment	First Half-year	Second Half-year
Suspended sentence	7·1	7·3
Deprivation of freedom		
(1) To one year	0·8	1·4
(2) From one to three years	19·3	20·5
(3) From three to nine years	13·5	15·7
(4) For ten years	1·9	1·8
Total *	35·5	39·4
Correctional labor	50·2	46·2
Fines	5·0	5·0
Other measures	2·2	2·1

* "Deprivation of freedom" only; does not include "Suspended sentence."

The Table for the R. S. F. S. R. has recently brought the totals nearly up to date, as follows:—

Table 3. Forms of Penalties in the R. S. F. S. R. in Percentages

Types of Treatment	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938 (1st half-year)
Deprivation of freedom	25·7	36·3	39·3	44·6	38·4
Correctional labor	56·9	50·1	46·8	40·4	48·7
Other (fines, etc.)	17·4	13·6	13·9	15·0	17·9

Examination of the mass of material appearing in the Prosecutor's journal may throw some light upon the trend of thinking of Soviet jurists as regards the penalty of correctional labor without deprivation of liberty. The controversy was opened by one of the most popular *Dotsents* in the Moscow Judicial Institute who wrote that the aspects of social censure were no longer present, for in many cases the fellow-workmen in the factory did not even know that sentence had been passed. He also argued that courts followed developments so little that persons under sentence moved freely from job to job, the only restriction being that they were required to notify the employer at the new job of his duty to deduct part of the wage at the source and pay it over directly to the officers of the court. Because of this situation, it was argued that the only feature of importance left to the penalty was the deduction from wages, which amounted to nothing more than a fine paid by instalments due on each pay day. The argument of the *Dotsent* was supported by a writer who declared that he wrote from five years' experience as the chief of a bureau whose task it was to supervise persons sentenced in this manner. He reported that supervision had generally become unimportant and that it would be better to replace this hybrid penalty with an out-and-out fine, or with a decree suspending sentence during a probationary period.

While these men were criticizing, a heavy attack was levelled at these critics for failing to appreciate the real extent of social censure involved. The critics were found to have erred in failing to evaluate correctly the very real loss which resulted to a person prevented from counting his time at the job while under the sentence in qualifying subsequently for a pension and for promotion. Of recent months the editors of the Prosecutor's journal have indicated their approval of the penalty, and there is every indication that it will appear among the penalties provided for in the new All-Union Code. The approval of the editors represents a victory for the retention of penalties fitted in principle to the rehabilitation of criminals. At the same time, it has been indicated by the critics of the present system that in practice the penalty has lost its features as originally planned and has become a punishment in the form of an instalment-fine. Time will tell whether the practice of the courts bends to the goading of the theorists who have risen in defence of a programme which was suffering under the carelessness of the judicial and administrative authorities.—J. N. Hazard of the Institute of Current World Affairs in the *American Sociological Review* (August, 1940).

Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Vivekanander Katha-O-Galpa.—By Swami Premaghanananda. Published by Ramakrishna Mission Vidyapith, Deoghar, Sonthal Parganas. 3rd edition. Pp. 96. Price 8 as.

Swami Premaghanananda has offered in this book some of the stories told by Swami Vivekananda to his American audiences, mostly for purposes of religious instruction. They represent the virtue and wisdom associated with Hindu genius and have usually been taken from the sacred books of the Hindus. The lesson they convey is high and elevating but the stories themselves have a wonderful simplicity which has been preserved in their present Bengali version. There is also a story about a Mahomedan Faqir in this book which the Swamiji had originally heard from Ramakrishna. Like most of the other stories in the present collection, it shows what great things are done by faith in God.

Swami Premaghanananda has prefixed an account of Vivekananda's life to his book. The life and work of Vivekananda will form one of the brighest chapters in a history of modern India. It will do our country good to remember his message. The greatness of his love for his fellowmen, the lesson of self-reliance and courage he taught, his faith in God and the strength and manliness of his temper are things which we should never forget.

Swami Premaghanananda's book is meant for juvenile readers and has been written in an easy, idiomatic, and attractive style. The stories will convey both pleasure and instruction, without any of that didacticism of manner which so often spoils books written for children. It will be good if the author finds time to bring out a number of other books for young readers, containing the teaching of Vivekananda and Ramakrishna through fables and stories, along the lines of the present work.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

A History of Tirupati.—By Rajasevasakta Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishna-swami Aiyangar. Vol. I. Published by Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam Committee.

On the hills of Tirupati stands the famous shrine of Veṅkaṭeśa, one of the most sacred spots of South India, where pilgrims from far and near flock in thousands, especially on auspicious and festive occasions. It enjoys an eminence, seldom enjoyed by any other holy place in South India, and a mass of tradition and literature has, by degrees, accumulated round the establishment. It is befitting, therefore, that the Devastanam Committee has thought it proper to compile a history of the shrine and place it before the public. It is also a matter for congratulation that the Committee could requisition the services of Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, whose researches in South Indian history are well known.

In seventeen chapters the author has given us the history of the Tirupati establishments from its foundation down to the end of the 18th century A.D. He has drawn his materials from literature as well as from inscriptions and should be congratulated on the vast mass of information that he has been able to gather. With infinite labour and painstaking energy he has rummaged the pages of old literature, both Tamil and Sanskrit, as well as the files of inscriptions, and brought to his aid such an amount of material as would do credit to any researcher.

Literature and tradition have been the chief sources of his information from the earliest times down to the time of Rāmānuja, the great Vaiṣṇava teacher, who flourished in the latter part of the 11th century and the early part of the 12th. It appears, however, that too much stress has been laid on the works of the early Alvars, whose dates, again—2nd or 3rd centuries A.D. to the 8th century A.D. as given by the author—are not acceptable to all. Nammalvar, the fifth of the saints in question, gives evidence of a highly elaborate hierarchical cult of Viṣṇu in *vyūha*, *vibhava* and *arcā* forms as well as of the emotional side of Viṣṇu worship, for which reasons it is difficult to place him in the very early period to which the author is inclined to assign him. Moreover, the religious predilections of these Alvars, as exhibited in the works attributed to them, indicate for them a late date, when sects had begun to form distinctly. The Pūtanā episode referred to in some of the works of the Alvars presupposes a knowledge of the Srīmad-Bhāgavata tradition, which is certainly later, much later, than the period, of which the author is speaking. The numerous extracts from the classical Tamil literature and the literature of the Alvars are fine pieces of poetic composition and religious devotion. They are useful for a proper study of the growth of the Vaiṣṇava cult and philosophy. But, we are afraid, they do not prove much as regards the antiquity of the shrine—first, because the dates suggested are not always beyond doubt, and secondly, because the references to the shrine are not always explicit.

Regarding the founder of Tirupati, the author himself betrays some confusion between the Tondaman of the so-called Purāṇic tradition and the Tiraiyan of the Sangam tradition. The traditions are so confusing and full of legendary matter that it is better to leave them out in sober history. The author has not cited the exact references of the Purāṇic tradition and the alleged Purāṇic version, placing the date of the organisation of the shrine between the institution of the era "now-a-days" known by the name of Vikramāditya and that of the Saka, hardly merits serious consideration unless the authentic character of the tradition is demonstrated by references to relevant texts.

In spite of the author's attempt to prove the staunch Viṣṇuite character of the shrine, the composite nature of the deity is quite evident even in the professedly eulogistic extracts in honour of Viṣṇu. Apart from the apparent Sivaite elements in the composition of the deity, there are others, which may belong to the cult of some folk god, and the idea is not quite improbable that the shrine in its origin belonged to some primitive folk-cult, that was later on incorporated into the orthodox system under the all-absorbing cult of the great god Viṣṇu, to whom all others are made subordinate.

During the early period, *i.e.*, till the 8th century A.D., the inscriptions are not very helpful for the history of the shrine. From the period of Chola ascendancy, however, there are more and more references to the establishment in the royal charters, and a history of the shrine on these data is more or less well grounded. Yet one or two inaccuracies demand notice. The British Museum plates of Chārudevī are quite explicit in indicating the relationship of three generations of early Pallava kings—(1) Mahārāja Vijaya Skandavarman in whose reign the grant was issued, (2) his son Yuva-mahārāja Vijaya Buddhavarman, the latter's wife Chārudevī who issued the grant and who was the mother of (3) Buddhyaṅkura. Hence the statement of the author (p. 218) that the charter was issued by the queen-regent in the name of her minor son Vijaya Buddhavarman, sometimes read as Buddhyaṅkura, is surprising. Vijaya Buddhavarman and Buddhyaṅkura were two different persons, father and son, and Chārudevī was the queen, not the mother, of Vijaya Buddhavarman, who was the son of Vijaya Skandavarman. The identification of Yuva-mahārāja Viṣṇugopa with Kumāraviṣṇu, again, is not tenable.

In spite of these limitations, the work is a useful contribution, as giving within a reasonable compass much of the available material for a study of the history of this famous shrine. A number of plates enhances the value of the publication.

S. K. SARASWATI

Dharma and Society.—By Gualtherus H. Mees, M.A. (Cantab.)., LL.D. (Leyden). Published by N.V. Servire, The Hague, and Luzac & Co., 46 Great Russell Street, London, W. C. 1. Pp. xvi + 206, 4to 1935. Paper 9*s* 6*d* net, cloth 12*s* 6*d* net.

The justification for reviewing a book like the one prepared by Dr. Mees five years ago is that the subject has a perennial interest for all students of Indian culture. The catholicity of Indian outlook in all human concerns, its pronounced concern for humanity in the crises of individual existence, its earnest and constant attempt to attain to something like a balance between other-worldliness and the stern reality which sharply comes out at every corner of life's progress—all these are in marked contrast to the elaborate system of caste which Hindu society has built up and which bids fair to stand four-square to all the political winds that blow, not excluding the latest drive by Mahatma Gandhi.

The subject has attracted Dr. Mees, and naturally ; Dr. Mees has been in constant touch with Indian thought ; he has imbibed no irreverence for the thought from social prejudice or political position. He has tried to analyse the conception of Dharma as in the Hindu thought, and to define it accurately as far as possible ; he has then proceeded to treat caste in the same way, and also to enquire into its origin: this is in brief the subject of the first part of the book. In the second part, he has tried to clarify some aspects and attributes of *varṇa* and caste, and to throw light upon some historical and actual social problems, in India and outside.

Dr. Mees has sought to confine Dharma to scriptural interpretation ; but the idea is broad-based in the people's heart. Irrespective of scriptural sanction, the word finds a sympathetic response in the man in the street in India, however ' unlettered ' or ' unemployed ' the man may be. At least in Bengal, where the cult of Dharma-Rāja has long been in vogue in the western parts, the associations of the word are difficult to understand only by reference to the ancient books of knowledge. This Dharma-Rāja is different from the personified form of Dharma of the same name referred to by the learned author on p. 38.

Dr. Mees comments on the Āśrama system in these concluding words of the Part I of his book: "one may say that the Āśrama system has on the whole been applied and followed rather faithfully ; perhaps not so much in the consummate social realization of the various *virtues* of the four grades as according to the intention and spirit of the *fourfold division* of man's life. The weakness of the Āśrama system lies in that it was conceived only for persons high in the cultural hierarchy " (pp. 75-76). The comment, if the reviewer is allowed to say so, had been anticipated and answered by Prof.

Radhakrishnan in his book *The Hindu View of Life* on p. 92, in the concluding paragraph of his third lecture, and the words are worth quoting: "When the wick is ablaze at its tip, the whole lamp is said to be burning."

Dr. Mees seems to be in favour of varṇa as opposed to caste. It is not possible to hold that there is any antagonism between the two, but it is necessary to realise how society may again be constituted on the basis of some well thought-out plan. The welter to which society is being recklessly driven all over the world will seem to be appalling to all lovers of humanity, and the way out of the impasse is to co-ordinate our thoughts, ideas and actions *vis-a-vis* politics and society, the reconstruction of which looms large in all future programmes for the stabilisation of the world.

However we may translate the word varṇa, it has always some reference to colour, as defining a race. This implication cannot be ignored in any explanation of Varṇa, but must underlie it.

Dr. Mees is to be congratulated on contributing to the problem that seems to be eternally demanding our attention and never capable of a final solution.

There are certain inaccuracies in the book. On p. 113 there is a mention of Mr. A. V. Thakur of the Servants of India Society ; the correct name is Thakkar, not Thakur.

The following passage by itself contains many misstatements: "The so-called 'pagan renaissance' in Bengal brought forth the great poet Michael Madhusudan Dutt. The Brahmo Samāj, a religious movement to reform Hinduism and to combine the best elements of Hinduism, Islam and Christianity, spread from Bengal to some other provinces. Ram Mohun Roy, Devendranath Tagore, Kesav Chandra Sen were its pioneers and leaders. When the Brahmos began to lose their solidarity, the Ārya Samāj was founded to renew Hinduism internally. The saint Ramakrishna followed in the footsteps of the mediaeval saints. At times he broke all possible caste-rules, as also his great disciple Vivekananda" (p. 101).

This is fair neither to Brahmo Samāj nor to Arya Samāj, neither to Ramakrishna nor to Vivekananda. It would be interesting to know the sources of Dr. Mees' information on these particular points and to his reasons for accepting them. Was it on trust, or after examination ?

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Co-operative Farming.—By S. K. Dey, I.C.S., Magistrate and Collector of the Nadia District. Published by Indira Dey, Collector's House, Nadia. Pages 121. Price Rupee One.

It is an outline of the theory and practice of a scheme in Agricultural Economics now being tried in the Nadia District in Bengal under the guidance of the author himself. The author has analysed the economic forces which are at the root of the agrarian situation in Bengal and has given an indication of the new forms for the organization of these forces so as to yield better and more profitable results. He has reached his conclusions from practical experience in the fields and as such they are not merely of theoretical value.

The fundamental problem in the agricultural situation, according to the writer, is the dependence of an increasing population on a fixed supply of land. But since the agricultural industry is being run at a loss, the solution of the economic problem lies in relieving the pressure of population on agriculture through industrial expansion, which naturally requires a good deal of time. Meanwhile, to alleviate the immediate situation and to accustom the people to the advantages of large scale operations, the author has advocated and tried the experiment of co-operative farming through consolidation and amalgamation of existing land fragments.

The author is an economist and as head of the District has opportunities of giving practical shape to his ideas. The scheme as outlined is now being tried at three places in Nadia, the largest experiment being carried through the Jehangirpur farm in Krishnagar under the direct supervision of the Collector himself.

The theoretical discussions and conclusions of the author as also the practical proposals set forth by him are sure to be of considerable interest not only to social workers but also to the public in general.

The Appendices at the end of the book give practical idea of the scheme outlined.

SUKUMAR BHATTACHARYYA

The India That Shall Be.—By Annie Besant. Publishsd by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 1940. Pp. 265.
Price Re. 1-12.

Indian Politics has always been marked by a spiritual substratum that makes it more akin to the prophetic wisdom of the Hebrews than to the temporal shrewdness of modern European statecraft. The cosmopolitan sentiments of India place it even above ancient Israel which could never shake off its racial narrowness. An Indian Jonah would never grudge the deliverance of a Ninevah. And it appears from the spiritual emphasis in the political thought of modern India that the fulfilment of its political aspirations would synchronise with the moral awakening of the world at large. " The India That Shall Be," which is a collection of signed articles by Annie Besant, contains the social and political ideas of a woman who was both a political leader and an inspired thinker. Many of her utterances contained in this volume have the impassioned accent of a seer. " The world cannot feel assured of lasting peace with one-fifth of its population in a state of unrest, held down by repressive legislation." The world is now too grievously feeling the truth of what she said twenty years ago.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Congress in Office: Speeches and other Contributions by C. R. Reddy, M.A., (Cantab.), Hon. D.Litt., M.L.C., Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University, Waltair. Collected and Edited by Abdul Hameed Khan, M.L.A., Ex-Mayor of Madras, Editor-in-Chief, "Deccan Times."

Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan, who has collected Dr. Reddy's speeches and writings, has done so with the avowed object of dealing " with the constitutional issues arising out of the Congress's acceptance of office," because he believes that a way out of the present impasse may be suggested by a careful analysis—such as Dr. Reddy offers—of the forces at work in the political atmosphere of our country to-day. Mr. Hameed has said in his short but valuable preface that the communal troubles which are rife in our unfortunate country owe more to false propaganda than to anything else.

Dr. Reddy has given in these pages a survey of the Indian situation from many different aspects and although he does not always see eye to eye with the Congress, he does not hesitate to declare: "Irrespective of Party, I am sure the good wishes of all will be with the Congress, for they can secure the conquest of power from England, its transference from the British into Indian hands, better probably than their political rivals in India." He has urged the Congress to co-operate with Government in forming an Indian Federation and carrying on its work. For he believes that the special powers belonging to the Viceroy under the Federation will not be exercised and that unless a compromise is effected by the Congress the cause of progress will suffer. The Congress, however, is unwilling to develop this accommodating spirit.

Dr. Reddy sees in international-mindedness a cure for obscurantism in politics. In his view, unless the past ceases to overshadow us, there is no hope of a united India and the problem of communal differences will continue a serious menace to the peace and progress of the country.

Dr. Reddy's views on the Princes, Minorities, and Communities deserve to be studied with care. But opinion on these matters is still greatly divergent and no amount of discussion is likely to achieve the necessary unanimity. Dr. Reddy seems to recognise the fact when he points out that Hindu-Muslim unity without which a national state in India cannot arise can take place only by the mediation of Mahatma Gandhi and not by talks and discussions. In our country the right kind of leadership is extremely valuable and the vast majority in India still look up to the Mahatmaji for guidance.

Dr. Reddy's speeches cannot be read without an occasional feeling of annoyance on account of the words like 'Laughter,' 'Loud Laughter' and 'Cheers' which are scattered profusely through the reports of his public utterances. These no doubt show the extent of his popularity but a detached reader feels that they are a constant hindrance to serious reflection, in the interest of which Dr. Reddy might have less played the rôle of a conscious humourist.

Dr. Reddy as an exponent of constitutional problems in India is thoughtful, analytical and sound. A student of Indian politics will find his views informed and enlightened.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Sainik Bangali.—By Subadar M. B. Sing. Second Edition.

Bengalees are not a military race. But this is not to say that the Bengalees are cowards. That they are well at the lyre is no proof that they cannot wield a sword; that they have not killed their thousands is no proof that they cannot die in thousands for a noble cause. There is a kind of deadly intoxication in warfare which almost eliminates a soldier's fear of death. During the last fifty years the youths of Bengal have displayed the nobler and rarer heroism of dying sober on the scaffold and dying by degrees in the prison-house. A pusillanimous nation cannot breed such monsters. The heroism of Bengal is the heroism of a willing martyr; it is never the heroism of a professional and uniformed slaughterer.

In the last Great War the 49th Bengali Regiment showed that sturdiness and discipline, that quickness and bravery, which make the best of soldiers. The Bengali Regiment did not have to take the firing line but the service which they rendered by standing and waiting, and the part which they took in suppressing the rebellion at Kurdistan displayed all the qualities of efficient and fearless soldiers. "Sainik Bangali," which is the private journal of a Bengali soldier of the 49th Bengali Regiment, is a lively document of heroic Bengal which proves once for all that, if they will, the Bengalees can fight and fight gloriously at that. It represents the feelings of the youths of a noble and puissant nation unable to assert herself owing to lack of opportunities. If the Bengalees be given a good military training, they would give a glorious account of their efficiency and valour. It is time that England had known that the Davids of Bengal do not only sing, but they can also slay a Goliath.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

East India Company (1784-1834).—By C. H. Philips, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Manchester University Press. Pp. 374 .

Before the Mutiny, the Government in India very often acted independently of the Company's home government. When Ellenborough became President of the Board of Control, he was shocked to find that the Board was dealing with events that had taken place in India two years before. Moreover, the relations between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control were the most variable in character. In these circumstances, a tendency to ignore the Company's home government has become very visible among students of British Indian history.

Dr. Philips gives us, I belive for the first time, a very thorough account of the influence exerted by the Board of Control, the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors on British policy in India and the relative value and importance of these parts. He gives us very full information as to the extent of influence exercised by the Presidents and the force and direction of the pressure exercised by the East India Company interest in England.

The author very effectively refutes views that have come to be generally accepted. A group of historians have emphasised that the India policy of the Directors was directed to keep their dividends at a high level and by their desire to increase their patronage. But dividends were fixed by the Acts of 1784 and 1793 and were payable from the sure profits of the China trade. They opposed the aggressive policy of Wellesley and Hastings, though these conquests increased their patronage. The Directors' attitude was explained by Grant in the following words: "The Company's position of equilibrium is overshot. In the sphere of ruling there is to be discovered an optimum spread of such power as the ruler may possess and beyond that limit there is the danger of disruption of energy and loss of effectiveness relative to the powers expended." Dr. Philips proves that the direction provided the essentials of successful home government, the necessary knowledge and stability. The Presidents saw India in terms of the English political situation. The Company's home government on the whole worked well and with the advantage of detachment could compare developments in Madras with those in Bengal, realised quite early the inevitability of higher teaching through the medium of English and checked the Bengal Government's attempt to force the system of their district administration on the other provinces.

The narrative of the tussle between the president of the Board of Control and the Court of Directors is very interesting reading and supports the contention that, generally speaking, a united direction could successfully resist the president. Welleseley has left his impress on British Indian history as the most expansionist governor-general. But the Dundas-Wellesley correspondence shows that the President was ever more grabbing than the governor-general. Wellesley wrote to him: "If you will have a little patience the death of the Nizam will probably enable me to gratify your voracious appetite for lands and fortresses. Seringapatam ought, I think, to stay your stomach for a while, not to mention Tanjore and the Poligar country. Perhaps I may be able to give you a supper of Oudh and the Carnatic, if you should still be hungry." Ellenborough as president is proved to have been a man of some insight. He sent the first despatch for 30 years from England which enjoined on the Indian government an extended interference in the internal affairs of native states.

Dr. Philips shows a sharp and unerring power of finding his way through masses of figures and details. This book will serve as a guide to those who want to work on the British period of Indian history where the available material is extraordinarily voluminous,

N. K. SINHA

Ourselves

[I. Knighthood for the Vice-Chancellor.—II. Professor H. C. Mookerjee Retires.—III. Head of the Department of English.—IV, Dr. Amiya Chakravarty.—V. Re-appointment of the Controller.—VI. Our Representative on State Faculty of Unani Medicine.—VII. Scholarships for Post-Graduate Students at Forest Research Institute, Dehra-Dun.—VIII. Scholarship for Research on the Splitting of Oils.—IX. Research on Fresh Water Fishes Grant by Imperial Council of Agriculture.—X. Government Circular regarding Suspension of Work for Half an Hour Daily for Prayers.—XI. Conference of Teachers of English at Lucknow.—XII. Indian Statistical Conference.—XIII. Facilities for Practical Training in Posts and Telegraphs.—XIV. English Teachership Certificate Examination, September, 1940.—XV. Teachers' Training Certificate (General) Examination, September. 1940.—XVI. Teachers' Training Certificate (Geography) Examination, September, 1940.—XVII. M.B Examinations, November, 1940.—XVIII. D.P.H. Examination, Part I, November, 1940.]

I. KNIGHTHOOD FOR THE VICE-CHANCELLOR

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. Azizul Huque, C.I.E., B.L., M.L.A., Vice-Chancellor of this University, was knighted on the New Year's Day. The Post-Graduate Department and the University were closed for a day as a mark of appreciation of the honour conferred on the Vice-Chancellor.

We respectfully offer our congratulations to him on the occasion.

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II. PROFESSOR H. C. MOOKERJEE RETIRES

Professor H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A., retired from the English Department of the University on the 31st December, 1940. He was Professor of English for a period of four years and six months, having joined the post in June, 1936, when he laid down the reins of his office as Inspector of Colleges. Dr. Mookerjee, who has recently joined the field of politics as member of Bengal Legislative Assembly and also as an All-India leader of the Christian community, was unfailing in his attention to the work of his Department and under his guidance the interest in original research in English was greatly stimulated among advanced students who sought his help and direction.

Dr. Mookerjee, who is already known to the public in India for his princely donations to the University which amount to well over five lakhs and fifty thousand rupees, served the University as Professor practically without drawing any remuneration. He credited his salary to the various endowments which he had created for affording facilities for vocational and scientific training to young men of his community.

Although Dr. Mookerjee has retired from the Department of English, he is still associated with the University as Fellow and member of various committees. We look forward to many years of fruitful collaboration with him on this Journal, of which he is one of the Editors.

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III. Head of the Department of English

At the meeting of the Senate held on the 14th December last, Dr. Mohini Mohan Bhattacherje, M.A., Ph.D., was appointed Reader and Head of the Department of English from the 1st January, 1941 up to the 30th June, 1944. Dr. Bhattacherje has been serving the University as a Lecturer in English since 1917 when the Post-Graduate Department was first created. He had a consistently brilliant academic career, and he was the first recipient of the Premchand Roychand Studentship for research work in English in 1918. He was admitted to the Doctorate of Philosophy in 1932 on a thesis entitled " Platonic Ideas in Spenser." In 1936 he was elected to the Ghosh Travelling Fellowship, and he spent over a year in Europe for further study and research. He visited many Universities in France, Italy, England and Scotland, and worked during the period in the British Museum and the University College of London, and in the libraries of the Universities of Paris and Rome. His published works have attracted wide-spread attention, and have been highly appreciated by competent English and Continental scholars and in the leading literary journals like the *Modern Language Review*, the *Modern Language Notes* and the *Year's Work in English.*

We offer our sincere congratulations to Dr. Bhattacherje on the well-deserved distinction that has been conferred on him by the University.

IV. Dr. Amiya Chakravarty

Dr. Amiya Chakravarty M.A., D.Phil (Oxon.), who has been appointed a whole-time Lecturer in the Post-Graduate English Department of the Calcutta University, had served the Viswabharati as a Professor of English for about six years. He afterwards went to Oxford and took the Doctorate Degree from the Balliol College, Oxford, with a thesis on Post-War Poetry. He was then appointed a Senior Research Fellow of the Brasenose College. On return to India he taught in the Post-Graduate classes of the Forman Christian College, Lahore, for a period of two years.

Dr. Chakravarty's thesis has been published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, under the title "Dynasts and Post-War Poetry." The work has been very favourably commented upon by leading English journals including the *Times Literary Supplement* which devoted a leader to a discussion of Dr. Chakravarty's thesis.

* * *

V. Re-appointment of the Controller

Dr. Benodebehari Dutt, M.A., Ph.D., whose terms of office as Controller of Examinations would expire on the 31st March, 1941 has been re-appointed for a further term of five years.

* * *

VI. Our Representative on State Faculty of Unani Medicine

The Government of Bengal have decided to establish a General Council and State Faculty of Unani Medicine in Bengal, which is to consist of thirty members including one representative of the Calcutta University.

The Hon'ble Sir Mohammad Azizul Huque, Kt., C.I.E., B.L., M.L.A., Khan Bahadur, has been appointed representative of this University on the General Council and State Faculty of Unani Medicine.

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VII. Scholarships for Post-Graduate Students at Forest Research Institute, Dehra-Dun

The Government of India will in the near future award scholarships of the value of Rs. 75 each to two Post-Graduate students for three years, who will be required to work at the Wood Seasoning Section at the Forest Research Institute, Dehra-Dun.

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VIII. SCHOLARSHIP FOR RESEARCH ON THE SPLITTING OF OILS

A scholarship of Rs. 3,000 has been granted to Dr. M. N. Goswami of the University College of Science, of which Rs. 1,200 has been contributed by the Tata Oil Mills Co., Ltd., Bombay, and the rest by the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, Government of India, for conducting research on the splitting of oils. Dr. Goswami has already started his research on the subject.

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IX. RESEARCH ON FRESH WATER FISHES GRANT BY IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURE

The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has sanctioned a grant not exceeding Rs. 6,500 from its funds for extension of the Scheme for the investigation of life history, bionomics and development of fresh water fishes for a period of two years and two months with effect from the 1st December, 1940.

Our University in whose laboratories the investigation had been carried on in the past has signified its acceptance of the grant to the Government of Bengal and the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

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X. GOVERNMENT CIRCULAR REGARDING SUSPENSION OF WORK FOR HALF AN HOUR DAILY FOR PRAYERS

A Government circular has been issued to the effect that, in addition to the facilities allowed to Muslim students for the *Jumma* praying, work should be suspended for half an hour in the early afternoon every day in all Government and aided Colleges which have Muslim students on their rolls, in order to facilitate performance of *Zahar* prayer.

The matter has been brought to the notice of the University by the Principal, Krishnath College, Berhampur, pointing out the difficulties that the suspension of work will cause, especially as changes in the time-table are not feasible because students in some cases come from long distances by train. He has made the suggestion that permission be granted to his college to shorten the length of the lecture periods or to reduce their number for necessary readjustments in view of the Government order. The Principal has been informed by the Syndicate that the University was not consulted on the subject before the order was issued and that the suggestions made by him cannot be accepted as they are bound to affect prejudicially the educational interest of the general body of students.

Our University has asked the College authorities to address Government, stating the difficulties in the matter.

* * *

XI. CONFERENCE OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH AT LUCKNOW

A Conference of Teachers of English was inaugurated at Lucknow in December, 1940. At the invitation of the conveners, representatives were sent by many of the Indian Universities. Dr. Mohinimohan Bhattacherje, now Head of the Department of English, represented the University of Calcutta.

The Conference was opened by the Governor of the United Provinces on the 19th December and was presided over by Mr. Amarnath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Allahabad. Though a few original papers were read in the Conference, the main question discussed was the position of English in the Universities in view of the prospective adoption of the Vernaculars as media of instruction. In Bengal this has already come, and other provinces are trying to follow suit. In the Nizam's Dominions instruction is offered in Urdu even in the University. The Conference just inaugurated will, it is hoped, offer concrete solutions of the difficult questions that are now exercising the minds of educationists with reference to the teaching of English as lannuage and as literature.

The Conference is to be held annually, and a Standing Committee has been appointed, consisting of the representatives of the different Universities, to draw up the necessary rules and regulations and arrange for the next meeting of Conference. Dr. Mohinimohan Bhattacherje has been elected to represent the Calcutta University in the Committee.

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XII. INDIAN STATISTICAL CONFERENCE

Prof. Nikhilranjan Sen, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., attended the Indian Statistical Conference held at Benares in the first week of January, 1941, as representative of this University.

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XIII. FACILITIES FOR PRACTICAL TRAINING IN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

The Government of India have offered facilities for practical training in the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department to students of our University and the Institute of Science, Bangalore, for a period of one year. Our University has forwarded to the Electrical Engineer-in-Chief the names of two candidates for the purpose.

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XIV. ENGLISH TEACHERSHIP CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION, SEPTEMBER, 1940

Nine candidates were registered for the above examination, of whom six passed and three failed. The percentage of passes is 66·6.

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XV. TEACHERS' TRAINING CERTIFICATE (GENERAL) EXAMINATION, SEPTEMBER, 1940

The number of candidates registered for the examination was five, of whom two were absent, two passed and one failed. The percentage of passes is 66·6.

XVI. TEACHERS' TRAINING CERTIFICATE (GEOGRAPHY) EXAMINATION, SEPTEMBER, 1940

Ninety-six candidates were registered for this examination, of whom eighty passed, fifteen failed and one was absent. Seven candidates passed with distinction. The percentage of passes is 83·1.

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XVII. M.B. EXAMINATIONS, NOVEMBER, 1940

(i) Preliminary Scientific M.B. Examination, November, 1940

Thirty-two candidates were registered for this examination, of whom twenty-two passed and two failed. The percentage of passes is 68·7.

(ii) The Special Examination in First M.B. Chemistry (under New Regulations), November, 1940

Eight candidates were registered for this examination, of whom four passed and four failed. The percentages of passes is 50%.

(iii) First M.B. Examination, November, 1940

Sixty-five candidates were registered for this examination, of whom thirty-eight passed, twenty-five failed and two were absent. The percentage of passes is 60·3.

(iv) Second M.B. Examination, November, 1940

One hundred and forty-three candidates were registered for this examination, of whom one hundred and one passed and forty-two failed. The percentage of passes is 70·6.

(v) Third M.B. Examination, November, 1940

One hundred and twenty-one candidates were registered for this examination, of whom eighty-eight passed, thirty-two failed and one was absent. The percentage of passes is 71·9.

(vi) Final M.B. Examination, November, 1940

Two hundred and four candidates were registered for this examination, of whom ninety-two passed, one hundred and eight failed and four were absent. The percentage of pasees is 45.

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XVIII. D.P.H. EXAMINATION, PART I, NOVEMBER, 1940

Thirty candidates were registered for this examination, of whom twenty-eight passed and two failed. The percentage of passes is 93·3.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

Gleanings from my Researches Vol. I, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B., F.S.M.F. (Bengal). D/Crown 8vo pp. 461+xx.

University Question Papers, 1935. D/Demy 16mo pp. 1160.

Federal System of the United States of America, by Dr. Naresh Chandra Roy, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 308+vi. Rs. 3.

Buddhi-o-Bedhi, by Mr. Hirendranath Datta, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 78.

Gitar Bani, by Mr. Anilbaran Ray. Demy 8vo pp. 198.

Bangla Sahityer Katha (*2nd Edition*), by Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 219+18. R.s. 1-8

Asoka (*with illustrations*), by Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.). Demy 8vo pp. 84. Re. 1.

Europer Silpakatha (*with illustrations*), by Mr. Asitkumar Haldar. Demy 8vo pp. 146+10. Re. 1.

Industrial Finance in India, by Dr. Sarojkumar Basu, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 436+xvii. Rs. 6.

Nyayamanjari, Part I, by Pandit Panchanan Tarkavagis. Royal 8vo pp. 490. Rs. 5.

General Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts, Vol. I, edited by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A. Demy 4to pp. 180+vii.

Books in the Press .

JANUARY, 1941

1. Gleanings from my Researches, Vol. II, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., F.S.M.F. (Bengal).
2. Generalities (*Readership Lectures*), by F. W. Thomas, Esq., M.A.
3. History of Indian Labour Legislation, by Dr. Rajanikanta Das, M.A., Ph.D.
4. History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. III, edited by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.).
5. Adam's Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar, edited by Mr. A. N. Basu, M.A., T.D.
6. Sree Krishna Bijay, edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A.
7. Cynewulf and the Cynewulf Canon, by Dr. S. K. Das, M.A., Ph.D.
8. Studies in the History of British in India, by Dr. A. P. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
9. Post-Graduate Volume (Arts and Science), 1939.
10. Elements of the Science of Language (Revised Edition), by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D.
11. University Question Papers, 1936.
12. Krishi-Bijnan, Vol. II, by the late Rai Rajeswar Dasgupta, Bahadur.
13. Agamasastra, by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
14. Early Career of Kanhoji Angria, by Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt., (Oxon.).
15. Vyaptipanchaka, by Pt. Anantakumar Tarkatirtha.
16. Bharatiya Banaushadhi Parichaya, by Dr. Kalipada Biswas, M.A., D.Sc., and Mr. Ekkari Ghosh.
17. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXXIII.
18. Nyayamanjari, Part II, Edited by Pandit Panchanan Tarkavagis.
19. Ramdas and Sivaji (*Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecture*, 1939-40), by Mr. C. C. Dutt, I.C.S. (Retd.).
20. Collected Published Papers, by the late Mr. Hemchandra Dasgupta, M.A., F.G.S.
21. Rivers of the Bengal Delta (*Readership Lectures*), by Mr. S. C. Majumdar, M.A.
22. Khandakhadyaka, Sanskrit Text, edited by Mr. Prabodhchandra Sengupta, M.A.
23. Translation of Pali Literature and Language, by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, Dr.Phil., D.Litt.
24. Siddhantasekhara, Vol. II, by Pandit Babua Misra.
25. Kabita Sangraha, III, edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. K. N. Mitra, M.A.

26. Old Persian Inscriptions, by Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D.
27. Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, by Dr. Binaychandra Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
28. History of Bengali Language and Literature, by Late Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt.
29. Calculus of Finite Differences, by Mr. Pramathanath Mitra, M.A.
30. Industry in India, by Dr. P. N. Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law.
31. Din-i-Ilahi, by Prof. Makhanlal Raychaudhuri, M.A., B.L.
32. Lectures on Art, by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, C.I.E.
33. Manobijnan, by Mr. Charuchandra Sinha, M.A.
34. Calendar, Part II, 1929, Supplement 1937.
35. University Question Papers for the year 1933.
36. Bharater Deb Deul, by Mr. Jyotishchandra Ghosh.
37. Manasamangal, by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya, M.A.
38. History of Indian Literature, Vol. III, by the late Prof. M. Winternitz, Ph.D.
39. Buddhist Historical Traditions, by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.
40. Orthographical Dictionary, edited by Mr. Charuchandra Bhattacharyya.
41. Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., edited by MM. Prof. V. Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
42. Journal of the Department of Science, Vol. I, No. 3.
43. Vedantadarsan-Advaitabad, by Dr. Asutosh Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.
44. Asutosh Sanskrit Series, edited by MM. Prof. V. Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
45. Raisekharer Padavali, edited by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya, M.A., and Dwareschandra Sarmacharyya.
46. Bkah Babs Bolun, by MM. Prof. V. Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
47. Narayana Pariprecha, by Mr. Anukulchandra Banerjee, M.A.
48. Manjusrinama Sangiti, by Mr. Durgadas Mukerjee, M.A.
49. Padma Puran, by Kabi Narayan Deb, edited by Dr. Tamonashchandra Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
50. Haramani, by Mr. M. Mansuruddin, M.A.
51. Dharma Sadhana by Mrs. P. R. Sen, M.A.
52. The Development of Hindu Iconography, by Mr. Jitendranath Banerjee, M.A.
53. University Regulations.
54. Rabindra Sahityer Bhumika, by Dr. Niharranjan Ray, M.A., D.Litt.Phil., Dip.Lib., F.L.A.
55. Selected Inscriptions of Different Periods, by Dr. Dineshchandra Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
56. Jiban Maitrer Padma Puran, edited by Mr. Sambhucharan Chaudhuri.
57. Upanisader Alo (Revised Edition), by Dr. Mahendranath Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
58. University Calendar for the year 1941.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

I. INDIAN CULTURE

A History of Indian Literature, by M. Winternitz, Ph.D., Professor of Indology and Ethnology at the German University of Prague, translated into English from the original German by Mrs. S. Ketkar and revised by the Author. *The only Authorised Translation into English.*

This monumental work of Prof. Winternitz is too well-known to need any introduction to the public. In order to make it accessible to those interested in Indian Literature but not well-versed in German, the Calcutta University has undertaken the publication of an English version. In order to bring the work up to date the author revised the whole work for the English translation. Many chapters have been re-written entirely, smaller changes, corrections and additions have been made almost on every page and the more important publications of the last twenty years have been added to the references in the Notes. Thus the English translation is at the same time a second, revised and improved edition of the original work.

Vols. I and II are the translations of the original German works with notes *revised by the author* and published during his lifetime. The preparation of Vol. III has been undertaken by an Editorial Board of experts on the subject. This volume is intended to complete the work left unfinished by the death of Prof. M. Winternitz. The whole work will occupy several volumes.

Vol. I. Introduction, the Veda, the National Epics, the Puranas and the Tantras. Demy 8vo pp. 653. 1927. Rs. 10-8.

Vol. II. Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature. Demy 8vo pp. 673. 1934. Rs. 12-0.

Vol. III. *In the Press.*

Some Problems of Indian Literature *(Readership Lectures delivered at the University)*, by the same author. Royal 8vo pp. 130. 1925. Rs. 2-8.

Contents:—The Age of the Veda—Ascetic Literature in Ancient India—Ancient Indian Ballad Poetry—Indian Literature and World-Literature—Kautiliya Arthasastra—Bhasa.

Sino-Indica, by Prabodhchandra Bagchi, M.A., D.Lit.

Dr. Bagchi has undertaken a series of publications called *Sino-Indica*. The work is a study of Chinese documents relating to India. As the researches were begun in France, the volumes had to be written in French.

Vol. I. *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Tome I (In French)*. Royal 8vo pp. lii+436. 1927. Rs. 15-0.

It is the first systematic work which deals with the history of translations of Buddhist texts into Chinese and their translators. The work contains the biographies of all Indian, Iranian, Sogdian and other monks who went to China in the early centuries of the Christian era. A history of their activities, as preserved in the Chinese documents, is given. The first part covers a period of six hundred years, first century A.D. to sixth century (589) A.D.

Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Tome I.—" The author has brought together everything he could on the biographical notices of the translators and gives a register of their works. The large number of references to the literature that might come in question is to be specially congratulated. . . . This assiduous work will have the recognition everywhere which it deserves." (Translated from German.—*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, **1929, 2.**)

" His important work does honour to him and his teachers . . . a fresh proof of the eminent talents of the Bengali race." (From French—*Revue Bibliographique*, 1928, October, Bruxelles.)

" An important contribution. . . . There are some of the important informations from this historical study with which it is full." (From French—*Revue des Sciences Philosophiques.*)

" Work of great value that makes an important contribution to the history of Chinese Buddhism." (From French—*Chronique d'Histoire des Religions.*)

" He has been able to bring out this first volume of a *magnum opus* which vindicates once more the importance of Buddhism in the history of India and testifies to the sound preparation of the author. . . . This is a schematical history of the spread of Buddhism and, with it, of Indian culture into China . . . . One of the best achievements of Buddhistic scholarship, the first contribution of young India to the systematic and comparative study of Buddhism."—*Prof. G. Tucci (Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 2).

Vol. II. *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois, Tome I.* Double Crown 8vo pp. 336. 1929. Rs. 15-0.

It is a critical edition of two ancient Sanskrit-Chinese lexicons of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., compiled by a Ser-Indian monk, Li-yen, and a Chinese monk, the famous Yi-tsing. The work has been enriched with notes added by Prof. Paul Pelliot, Membre de l'Institut de France, Professor in College de France.

Vol. III. *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois, Tome II.* Double Crown 8vo pp. 204 (pp. 337-540). 1937. Rs. 15-0.

The second part of the *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois* contains a detailed study of five Sanskrit-Chinese dictionaries which have been preserved in the Chinese Tripitaka. These are—the *Fan yu tsa ming* of Li-yen, the *Fan yu ts'ien tseu wen* of Yi-tsing, the *T'ang fan wen tseu* of Ts'iuan-tchen, the *Fan T'ang siao si* and the *T'ang fan leeng yu chouang touei tsi*, all of which were compiled in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Dr. Bagchi has discussed the problems raised by these vocabularies, their authenticity, the biography of the authors, the Prakritic, Iranian, and Central Asiatic elements in the vocabulary, the method of Chinese transcription, etc. A detailed Chinese-Sanskrit index containing more than two thousand words supplies the basis for future Sino-Sanskrit lexicographical works.

This work is of capital interest to students of Buddhism, of Indian history, to Sinologists, to linguists and to all those who are interested in the early history of cultural exchange between China and India.

Vol. IV. *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Tome II.* Royal 8vo pp. 306 (pp. 437-742). 1938. Rs. 15-0.

It contains a history of the Chinese Buddhist literature from the seventh to the thirteenth century A.D.

The work will be completed with detailed indexes in a separate volume which is now in the press.

The Evolution of Indian Polity, by R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore. Demy 8vo pp. 192. 1920. (*Slightly damaged.*) Reduced price Rs. 4-8.

Contains a connected history of the growth and development of political institutions in India, compiled mainly from the Hindu Sastras. The author being the famous discoverer and translator of the *Kautiliya Arthasastra*, it may be no exaggeration to call him one of the authorities on Indian Polity.

Contents:—I. Tribal State of Society. II. Elective Monarchy, III. The Origin of the Kshattriyas. IV. The People's Assembly. V. The Duties and Prerogatives of the Kings and Priests. VI. The Effect of Jainism and Buddhism on the Political Condition of India. VII. The Empire-building policy of the Politicians of the Kautiliya Period. VIII. Espionage. IX. Theocratic Despotism. X. The Condition of the People—Intellectual, Spiritual and Economical.

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Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time, by Richard Fick (translated by Sisirkumar Maitra, M.A., Ph.D.). Demy 8vo pp. 390. 1920. Rs. 7-8.

Dr. Fick's Die Sociale Gielderung im Nordöstlichen Indian zu Buddhas Zeit has, for many years, been of invaluable assistance to all interested in the social and administrative history of Buddhist India. But those ignorant of German were unable to make use of that book and their warm gratitude will be extended to Dr. Maitra for his eminently readable translation. The book is too well-known to need any review; suffice it to say that the translation is worthy of the book. Now that this scholarly work is made available in English, it should find a larger circulation."—*Hindusthan Review*, July, 1923.

Contents.

Chapter I—*Introduction*—The Brahmanical Caste-Theory.

Chapter II—*General View of the Castes*—The Brahmanical Caste-Theory in the Pali canon—Theoretical discussions about the worthlessness of the caste—The Essential characteristics of castes.

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Chapter VII—*The House Priest of the King*—Historical Evolution of the Post of *Purohita*—His Share in Administration.

Chapter VIII—*The Brahmanas*—General View of the Brahmanas according to the Jatakas—The Four Asramas—Duties and Privileges of the Brahmanas.

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Chapter XI—*Casteless Professions.*

Chapter XII—*The Despised Caste.*

Sources of Law and Society in Ancient India (*Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Law*), by Nareschandra Sengupta, M.A., D.L. Demy 8vo pp. 109. 1914. Re. 1-8.

In this book the author traces the sources of Ancient Indian Law with reference to the environments in society and deals with matters regarding legal conceptions historically, initiating a somewhat new method, mainly following the one indicated by Ihering with reference to Roman Law in the study of problems of Hindu Law.

Pre-Historic India, by Panchanan Mitra, M.A., Ph.D. Second Edition, *Revised and Enlarged.* Demy 8vo pp. 542 (with 53 plates). 1927. Rs. 7-0.

Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture (*Readership Lectures in the Calcutta University, 1919*), by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Indian History and Archæology in the University of Madras. Demy 8vo pp. 468. 1923. Rs. 6-0.

In the course of these lectures the author has made an effort to evaluate the influence of South India upon the main currents of Hindu Culture generally. He considers the main problem in its varied aspects. The first important topic is the connection between the Aryan north and the Dravidian south, and the main point for consideration is the religious contact and the position of the Brahman in South India. The Buddhist influence in this part of the country is found to be comparatively small, and the Brahmanism that is established in the land is found to be pre-Buddhistic in point of character. From this, under the influence of the new venue, Brahmanism itself undergoes a change towards the religion of devotion to a personal God intervening in the affairs of people. Following this in a natural line comes the worship of a personal deity in various forms, together with all the paraphernalia of that worship leading ultimately to that point of religion that holds the field named somewhat vaguely as Hinduism. The literary influence is considered in a chapter devoted to the study of the peculiar Tamil classic—the Kural. Then follows a number of Chapters bearing on the history of the Pallavas which, from the cultural point of view, is essentially the period of reconciliation of the two cultures—Aryan and Dravidian. Saivism and Vaishnavism are the two offshoots which, beginning perhaps in the moderate systems, developed schools of thought more rigorous and leading ultimately to the extreme forms of the two sects.

The other topics considered are the administrative evolution of South India exhibiting features characteristic of the region and nautical enterprise and expansion of Indian culture beyond the seas. These important topics are dealt with in a way to admit of easy elaboration.

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Extract from Indian Antiquary, Vol. LIII, for January-February, 1924 :—

" *Sir Richard Temple* writes : ' ....They (the Lectures) are so full of valuable suggestions that it is worthwhile to consider here the results of the study of a ripe scholar in matters South Indian.........To myself, the book is a fascinating one and it cannot but be of the greatest value to the students, for whom the lectures were intended.'............"

Prof. Hultzsch of Halle, for very near 20 years Epigraphist to the Government here, in a letter, dated 22nd August, 1923, writes : " I have again to thank you for a fresh volume from your pen which I have added to the other works of reference. Your *Contributions of South India to Indian Culture* which will have shown Bengal scholars what a wealth of information has been and can still be gathered in the far-off Tamil country and how many interesting problems are offered by Tamil literature and historical documents. Your books have done much to arrange and combine stray and fragmentary facts and to make a cosmos of the chaos which Southern history and literature used to be not very long ago—chiefly owing to the absence of any chronology."

Sir Richard C. Temple, Editor and Proprietor of the *Indian Antiquary*, in a letter, dated the 2nd September, 1923, writes : " I am much impressed with your *Contributions of South India to Indian Culture* and I am making a précis of it."

Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia, by B. R. Chatterji, D.Litt. (Punjab), Ph.D. (London). Demy 8vo pp. 303. 1928. Rs. 6-[illegible]

" Within this thesis there are probably assembled all the facts at present discoverable concerning Indian influence in Cambodia......Mr. Chatterji seems to have studied all the available inscriptions (of Cambodia) and he has tracked down an immense number of relevant passages in early Indian, Chinese and Arab literatures.........As a scholar writing for scholars Mr. Chatterji seems to have done his work well......"—*Times Literary Supplement*, 6th September, 1928.

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" His book is a very clear and exact résumé of what we know about the political, religious and artistic history of Cambodia up to 1927—the year in which the book was written." (Translated from French—*Bulletin d'Ecole Francoise d'Extreme Orient*, 1931.)

Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, by Sylvain Lévi, Jean Przyluski and Jules Bloch. Translated into English, by Prabodhchandra Bagchi, M.A., D.Lit. Demy 8vo pp. 216. 1929. Rs. 2-8.

" A most valuable book."—*Sir G. A. Grierson.*

" It is a most valuable book, and I am very glad to possess a copy. Indeed for some weeks I had been trying to find a copy of it in this country but had failed, so its arrival has been doubly welcome............It is most convenient to have the important essays of Lévi, Przyluski and Bloch in one volume and their value being enhanced by the additional notes of Prof. S. K. Chatterji and Dr. Bagchi himself."—*Sir George A. Grierson.*

"Dr. Bagchi has performed a useful service in translating the important articles......The subject which is introduced is bound to bulk more largely in the linguistic and historical investigations...........the work has been well done both in its quality and in its get-up."—*A. C. Woolner.*

"Prof. Bagchi has not only translated these articles that, collected as they are in a handy volume, will be of greater use to everybody, but has also added a valuable introduction. In this introduction he has given a résumé of the new branch of research, and has gathered with Prof. S. K. Chatterji new and convincing facts."—*Prof. G. Tucci.*

Indian Ideals in Education, Philosophy and Religion and Art (*Kamala Lectures, 1924*), by Annie Besant, D.L., with a Foreword by the Hon'ble Sir Ewart Greaves, Kt. Demy 8vo pp. 135. 1925. Re. 1-8.

The lectures were delivered in the Calcutta University by Dr. Annie Besant under the auspices of the Kamala Lectureship established in memory of his beloved daughter by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I.

Philosophical Discipline (*Kamala Lectures, 1926*), by Mahamahopadhyay Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt. Demy 8vo pp. 179. 1928. Re. 1-8.

Contents: Chapter I—*Discipline in Indian Systems*—(*i*) General—(*ii*) Vedanta—(*iii*) Purva-Mimamsa and other 'Hindu' Systems—(*iv*) Buddhism and Jainism—(*v*) Upanishad[illegible]Synthesis of Indian Philosophy.

Chapter II—*Discipline in other Oriental Systems*—(*i*) Zoroastrianism—(*ii*) Mithraism—(*iii*) Taoism—(*iv*) Confucianism—(*v*) Egyptian Religion—(*vi*) Babylonian and Assyrian Religion—(*vii*) Judaism—(*viii*) Christianity—(*ix*) Islam.

Chapter III.—*Discipline in Western Philosophy*—Greece and Rome—Modern Philosophy—Conclusion.

Rationalism in Practice (*Kamala Lectures, 1932*), by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye. Demy 8vo pp. 99. Re. 1-8.

The lectures briefly discuss certain questions of general interest and are only intended to provoke thought in the younger generation.

Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals (*Kamala Lectures, 1929*), by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D. Demy 8vo pp. xix+242. 1935. Rs. 2-8.

The thesis of the author is the evolutionary character of the moral ideals of Hindus as embodied and reflected in their sacred laws, customs, social life and conduct. He shows that the moral rules and ideals which have obtained among them have not been immutable and stationary, but have changed, and are bound to change, in the course of time in accordance with their social and economic environments. The need for such adaptation is stressed as an essential condition of life in the modern world. The author examines the defects and merits of Hinduism and the value of the contribution of Hindu thought to moral culture. He discusses the influence of the doctrine of Karma, the question of moral progress, the effect of the impact of Western ideas and culture upon Hindu ideals, the drift of modern forces and tendencies and their bearing upon the future outlook of Hindu society. The subject is treated throughout in the light of comparative thought and in a spirit of detachment. The author enforces his points by numerous references to parallel conceptions and practices in Western countries.

J. H. Muirhead (*Editor, Library of [illegible]hilosophy*) : "I have read sufficient to appreciate its value for the unde[illegible]nding of the very interesting subject with which it deals. I have found the comparisons which the author makes between Hindu and Christian standards and practices particularly instructive......It seems to me extremely well written by one who has spared no pains to master the literature, both Eastern and Western, on the subject and I congratulate the press of Calcutta University on the production of so scholarly a work."

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John Laird (University of Aberdeen) : "They are obviously timely and I have already found them most instructive."

Mahamahopadhyay Dr. Ganganath Jha (Allahabad) : "The lectures are, of course, excellent and should be read with interest and benefit by all interested in the well-being of the country. It will dispel a great deal of misconception."

The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (Allahabad) : "Sir Sivaswamy Iyer is one of the most thoughtful writers and anything coming from his pen is bound to attract considerable attention. I have read considerable portions of this book since it arrived and admired the presentation of the subject a great deal."

The Times Literary Supplement (London) : "The thesis is full of interest and is treated with the knowledge of affairs and in the liberal spirit which Sir Sivaswamy has often displayed on public platforms and in the Legislative Assembly."

Vedanto Kesari (Madras), April, 1935 : " He sheds the light of a mature and scholarly mind on many intricate and vexed problems of Hindu ethics and has as ably defended the fundamental principles of Hindu morality from the charges of ignorant foreign critics as he has rescued it from the zeal of rigid orthodoxy."

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Prof. William Ernest Hocking (Harvard University) : " The very important contribution it makes in fields which are of special interest to me, the development of Hinduism and the relation between religion and government in India."

The History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, by B. M. Barua, M.A. (Cal.), D.Lit. (London). Royal 8vo pp. 468. 1921. Rs. 10-8.

The book gives a clear exposition of the origin and growth of Indian Philosophy from the Vedas to the Buddha, and seeks to evolve order out of chaos—to systematise the teachings of the various pre-Buddhistic sages and seers, scattered in Vedic literature (Vedas, Brahmanas, Upanishads) and in the works of the Jainas, the Ajivikas and the Buddhists.

Prof. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, M.A. : " The only book of its kind. No student of the Philosophy of Upanishads can afford to neglect it. The book shows accurate scholarship and deep insight on every page."

Bharatiya Madhya Yuge Sadhanar Dhara (*Adhar Mookerjee Lectures for 1928, in Bengali*), by Kshitimohan Sen, Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indian Religion and Mysticism, Visvabharati, Santiniketan, with a Foreword by Rabindranath Tagore. Demy 8vo pp. xvi + 135. Re. 1-8.

In this work the author has given for *the first time* an outline of the religious history of India during the Mussalman rule. He has criticised here the popular theory that India was acquired by Mahomedan invaders *merely* by means of the sword and has properly appreciated the part of the Moslem saints, orthodox as well as heterodox, in conquering India for Islam. This unique work is based principally on materials collected by the author from hundreds of religious shrines (including many obscure ones) visited by him during the last thirty years. Another feature of the work is that it reveals the natural love of spiritual matters on the part of the common people of India.

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Viswa-Vidyalayer Rup (*in Bengali*), Inaugural address delivered at the Calcutta University, by Rabindranath Tagore. Demy 8vo pp. 30. 1933. As. 8.

Sikshar Bikiran (*in Bengali*), by Rabindranath Tagore. Demy 8vo pp. 23. 1933. As. 8.

Manusher Dharma (*Kamala Lectures, 1930, in Bengali*), by Rabindranath Tagore. Demy 8vo pp. ix+119. 1933. Re. 1-8.

Sakti or Divine Power, by Sudhendukumar Das, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.). Demy 8vo pp. 310. 1934. Rs. 3-0.

An attempt has been made to trace the origin of the idea of Sakti as Divine Power from Jnān or the ' Mother-Goddesses ' of the Vedas and show how it developed through the speculations [illegible] the Brahmanas and the Upanishads and finally culminating into the Svetasvatara conception of full-bodied philosophical principle of ' Supreme Divine Sakti ' belonging to God himself, hidden in his own qualities. It is an historical study based on original Sanskrit texts. It contains for the first time a thorough discussion on the philosophy of the Kashmere Trika School and that of the Lingayat School of Southern India from the texts both published and unpublished.

Sri Aurobindo and the Future of Mankind, by Adharchandra Das, M.A. Double Crown 16mo pp. 143. 1934. Re. 1-0.

The author has interwoven into a connected statement the contents of a number of articles contributed by Sri Aurobindo Ghosh, on the true meaning of Vedanta Philosophy and has presented his book in a very interesting and attractive manner.

" Mr. Adharchandra Das in the Four Chapters of his book gives us a sound and clear account of Aurobindo's main views, and points out incidentally that they are based on the central principles of Indian culture. We are all grateful to him for bringing together in a brief and accessible form the main teachings of Aurobindo Ghosh."—*Foreword,* Sir S. Radhakrishnan.

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" Mr. Das has made a close study of Aurobindo's writings and has published a remarkable book."—*Advance.*

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" It is a valuable contribution to the history of thought of present-day India and gives a clear and systematic account of the work of one of the great thinkers of our time."—*Dr. H. von Glasehagy, Königsburg, Germany.*

Ancient Indian Numismatics (*Carmichael Lectures*, 1921), by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University. Demy 8vo pp. 241. Rs. 4-14.

The book contains a course of lectures on Numismatics, a part of Archæology, delivered by the Professor in [illegible]. The subjects of the lectures are as follows:

I. Importance of the Study of Numismatics.
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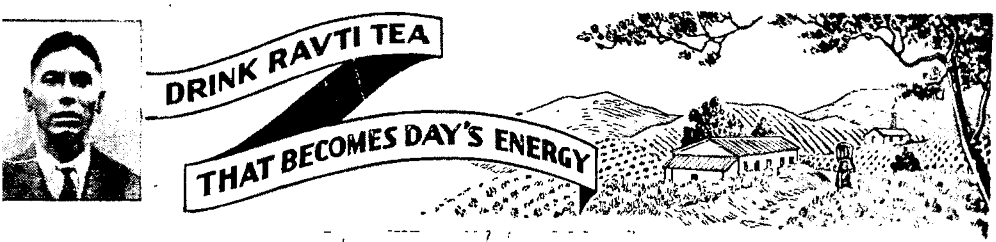
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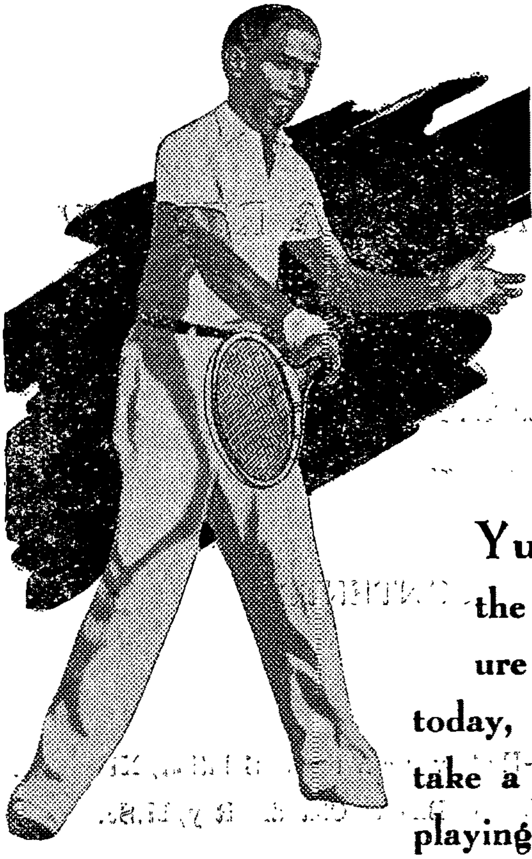

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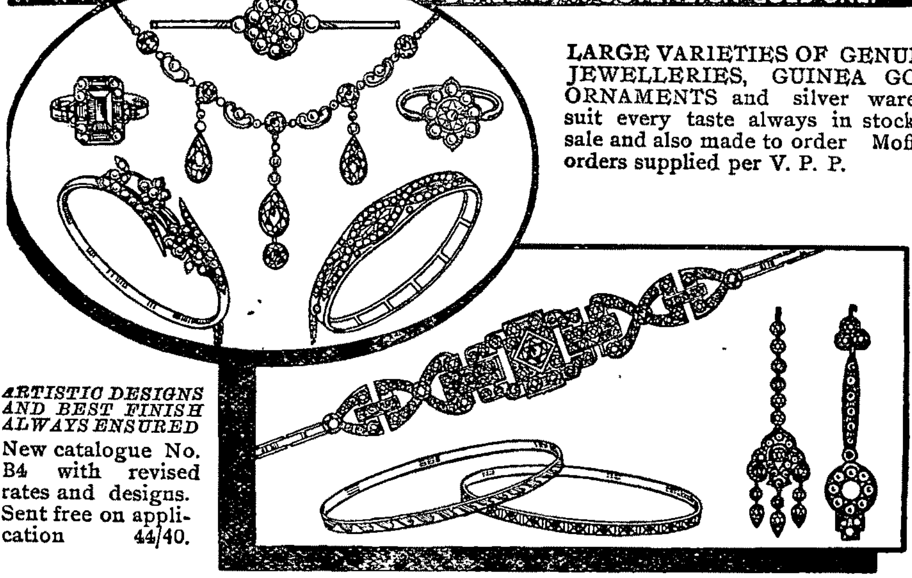

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SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

Sir P. C. Rây, Kt. and Bhabes Chandra Ray, M.Sc.

XV

Shakespeare as Reviser of Plays Written by Others—Trilogy of *Henry VI* and *Titus Andronicus*

IN the previous issue an attempt was made to compare the diction and versification of the trilogy of *Henry VI* with those of the contemporary plays. The only external evidence in favour of Shakespearean authorship of the *Henry VI* trilogy is its inclusion in the First Folio, the editors of which were Shakespeare's fellows ; but there is a number of evidences which will even go to question its inclusion therein. The most formidable one is the non-inclusion of this trilogy in Mere's 1598 list of plays. Malone adduces a series of arguments which, if accepted, would prove that Shakespeare was never the sole author of the plays, most particularly the first part. He might have been a mere collaborator-apprentice, could have been a reputed reviser, but never the sole author.

Malone observes that "in all the tragedies written before his time, or just when he commenced as an author a certain stately march of versification is observable. The sense concludes or pauses almost uniformly at the end of every line ; and the verse has scarcely ever a redundant syllable." Malone, however, compares the versification of many a play from Shakespeare's predecessors and states that "the tragedies of *Marius and Sulla* by T. Lodge, 1594, *A Looking Glass for London and England* by T. Lodge and R. Greene, 1598, *Soliman and Perseda,* written before 1592, *Selimus, Emperour of the Turks,* 1594, *The Spanish Tragedy*, 1592, and *Titus Andronicus,* will all furnish examples of a similar versification—a versification so exactly corresponding to that of the first part of *King Henry VI* and *The Whole Contension of the Two Houses of Yorke and Lancaster,* etc., as it originally appeared, that I have no doubt these plays were the production of some one or other of the authors of the pieces above quoted or enumerated."

1 Henry VI does not in fact abound in rhymes although one particular scene is entirely in rhyme. In the earlier productions Shakespeare markedly used rhymed or alternately rhymed lines to carry his thought, and we can legitimately expect that the author of *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* would use more rhymed lines in this play which should be his first production.

As for the second and third part of the trilogy the problem of the authorship appears to be a bit less knotty for from internal evidence it is generally admitted that Shakespeare's hand is traceable in them. It is assumed that the master mind of dramatic art picked up the running plays from others' pen versified thema new, remodelled them according to his own liking and improved them very much. Malone admits that "several lines, however, and even whole speeches which he thought sufficiently polished he accepted, and introduced into his own work, without any or with very slight alterations."

Now to return to the versification test. We must mention here that the test is not in fact very easy to apply. J. M. Robertson, the most enthusiastic disintegrator of Shakespeare, declares, "That Swinburne appears never to have seen the profound difference between Marlovian and Shakespearean verse, and that Coleridge came only late into the true knowledge, would seem to signify that the right vision or mental audition in this matter is not easy."

The present authors cannot help quoting here Rabindra Nath who himself admits that there has been a marked change from time to time in his thought and verse:

"आमार काव्येर ऋतुपरिवर्तन घटेछे वारे वारे। प्रायइ् सेटा घटे निजेर अलक्ष्ये। काले काले फुलेर फसल बदल हये थाके तखन मौमाछिर मधु जोगान नतुन पथ नेय।"[1]

Up till the present day four distinct theories have been advanced on the problem of the authorship of the trilogy. The first theory that the entire or nearly the entire play of *1 Henry VI* comes from the pen of anyone but Shakespeare had been put forward by Drake[2] and supported by Malone, Collier, Dowden and Furnivall.

On the positive side Dr. Johnson emphatically argues that "from mere inferiority nothing can be inferred; in the production of wit there will be inequality." To support Johnson, Steevens holds, "This historical play might have been one of our authors' earliest dramatick efforts; and almost every young poet begins by imitation. Shakespeare, therefore, till he felt his own strength, perhaps survilely conformed to the style and manner of his predecessors." Hudson gives his firm and settled judgment that the main body of the play is certainly Shakespeare's. Dr. Johnson's argument is indeed difficult to flout and the remarks of Steevens just quoted appear rather weighty. But in this type of conjectural investigation none should overlook the external evidences altogether. Though the date of Shakespeare's leaving his paternal home for London is not definitely known, it is true he did not do so before 1583. Most biographers agree this to be 1586. Shakespeare's first child of invention saw the light of the day in 1593. *1 Henry VI* is dated 1591. Shakespeare himself does not recognise the play to be the first child of his imagination and so also does the author of the *Palladis Tamia*, we mean Francis Meres. The present authors fail to understand why these external evidences are overlooked at all. The explanation of Shakespeare's not admitting *1 Henry VI* as his first heir of invention has nevertheless been attempted. They say that Shakespeare liked not to recognise plays as his heirs of invention but there is nothing to support this. He might not have objected either to spurious or to attributed publications but why should the ambitious young playwright hesitate to recognise a play which was rather popular with the general public. Francis Meres was not in London when *Henry VI* plays were holding the board. He wrote his *Wits Treasury* in 1598 when, it has been said, these plays were forgotten in London. This argument appears rather far-fetched. To forget a play—a popular one—in course of only seven years is indeed strange and we are slow to accept it.

---

[1] Rabindranath, *Nava-Jatak*, Preface.

[2] "The hand of Shakespeare is nowhere visible throughout the entire of this "Drum-and-Trumpet-Thing as Mr. Morgan has justly termed it."—*Shakespeare and his Times* (1817).

The next alternative theory is one of revision of an earlier play of some unknown author. Theobald was the first to advance this theory. To quote Theobald, " Though there are several master-strokes in these three plays which incontestably betray the workmanship of Shakespeare, yet I am almost doubtful whether they were entirely of his writing. And unless they were written by him very early, I should rather imagine them to have been brought to him as a director of the stage ; and so have received some finishing beauties at his hand. Coleridge, Gervinus, Halliwell-Phillipps and many others echo the same view. The real author and the true title of the source-play have been lost to the posterity and there is absolutely no means to find out the truth of this hypothesis. The only other theory is the theory of collaboration which has been sponsored by authorities like Grant-White (1859), Ingram (1904), Hart (1909) and others. There have been some differences of opinion regarding the personnel of the probable collaborators. For example, Grant-White holds "that within two or three years of Shakespeare's arrival in London, that is, about 1587 or 1588, he was engaged to assist Marlowe, Greene and perhaps Peele in dramatizing the events of King Henry the Sixth's reign." Ingram believes this to be the work of two men, Marlowe and Shakespeare, and Hart opines " that Shakespeare was invited to lend a hand to Greene and Peele."

The last two theories, namely, the revision and the collaboration theories apparently alike are materially different. While the revision theory does not help us to find out the real author, the last theory attempts to do so and can successfully explain why there have appeared quite base materials with a lot of sublime ideas.

It has been stated already that the lines of *Henry VI* have been scanned and rescanned by almost every Shakespearean critic in an honest endeavour to make out the authorship, and majority of them are of opinion that the opening lines, *viz.*:

> " Bed. Hung be the heavens with black, yield day tonight
> Comets, importing change of times and states,
>
> Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky," etc.,

are characteristically Marlowian.

Marlowe's traceable influence spreads over *1 Henry VI* so abundantly that none of the acknowledged Shakespearean students has ever denied it. One may profitably consult A. W. Verity's essay on " The Influence of Christopher Marlowe on Shakespeare's Earlier Style " in this connection. Verity remarks, " If, for instance, from Shakespeare's authentic works not one undoubted use of the curious phrase ' to this gear ' can be quoted, if the expression occurs repeatedly in Marlowe's plays, and if, as is the case, we find the word in *Henry VI* and *Titus Andronicus* in passages where the general style and atmosphere is Marlowesque, the coincidence surely must cost its atom of weight in favour of any theory that would assign the passages in question to the author of *Tamburlaine*. Individually such points may be of infinitesimal importance ; collectively they are not so contemptible. Every writer has his vocubulary, and having once used a word he is likely to employ it again. Now in *Titus Andronicus*, as Mr. Fleay points out, there are 204 non-Shakespearian words." Verity next sorts out too many non-Shakespearean words from the three parts of *Henry VI* and submits the list in the appendix. By ' non-Shakespearian ' Verity, however, means ' that the word is not found in any of the undoubted plays.' Those who are in favour of allotting the play entirely to Shakespeare's pen accuse him of imitating Marlowe but the present authors cannot understand why collaboration is so emphatically denied. Collaboration was not inadmissible—nay, it was far more common—in those early days.

Greenian touches in the play are indeed controversial and according to Tuckerbrook it is wholly " unlike him (Greene) in the inflexibility with which it harps on the historical note, and in its absence of humor, sentiment, or pathos. Greene, of course, may have written the play, but it is less like his avowed work than that of any contemporary dramatist."

Peele has been suggested as co-author by various critics for not very unrecognisable similarity. Indeed the similarity has been very marked. The defamation of the French Joan of arc in *1 Henry VI* can be fully compared with that of the Spanish Queen Eleanor in *Edward I.* Critics of this school are almost unanimous in accepting Peele as collaborator of Shakespeare. The following lines of Tuckerbrook, the editor of *1 Henry VI* in "The Tale Shakespeare," are worth quoting, "It is not by a process of elimination merely that I arrive at George Peele as the most likely author of the old *Harry the Sixth* play. Indications of several kinds point in Peele's direction. He was, at the time the work was produced, distinctly the most conspicuous exponent of Jingoistic national pride—a trait of which Marlowe shows absolutely nothing and Greene hardly more."

Even if we accept the last theory, that is, the theory which speaks of Shakespeare's re-handling of an earlier source play, the simultaneous presence of Marlowe and Peele's remnant influence unmistakably points to the conclusion that they were the joint authors of the play which came to our poet's table for revision at a subsequent date. This he did no doubt with enough care. This theory of revision is as hypothetical as the collaboration theory and comparing the two the present writers find no reason to discard the collaboration theory.

(To be continued.)

THE MODERN AGE IN INDIA *

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LET me thank you for the honour you have done me by asking me to preside over the Modern Indian History Section of the Indian History Congress. A younger man might have brought to your deliberations a clearer vision, a keener perception and a surer sense of realities ; but our youthful colleagues are busy elsewhere making history and salvaging civilisation. Until better times bring them back to their old and accustomed spheres, older men must not hestitate to step into the breach, hold the torch aloft and keep the sacred flame burning.

Before we proceed to examine any specific problem we have to answer three definite questions. Can we reasonably agree to a chronological division and regional segmentation of history ? If so, what should be the determining factor in ascertaining the line of demarcation ? To what extent can a particular region be isolated for the purposes of historical investigation ? As Sir Charles Oman so pertinently observed, the professional historian is unable to answer many questions in the simple affirmative or negative. Our answer is bound to be qualified by many 'ifs' and many 'buts'.

We believe in the unity of History ; it is one of our cardinal creeds. History may not be coterminous with time but it embraces the whole range of human experience, surveys the entire field of human activities and seeks to interpret and analyse the indefinite ideal which mankind in general, urged by an irrepressible impulse, has been for thousands of centuries striving unceasingly to achieve. History flows like a river from the forgotten past to the unknown future. It cannot, therefore, be divided into chronological compartments. The present is rooted in the past, the future is only a projection of the present ; as the past has left its indelible impress on the present, so the present is inevitably shaping the future. We are interested in the past because it helps us to understand the present and to forcast, however inadequately, the vital tendencies of the

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* Presidential Address, Modern Indian History Section, Indian History Congress, Lahore Session, 1940.

future. We have, therefore, to carry on our explorations backwards ; but as we labour along the faint track, the recent past recedes to the remote past, well authenticated facts are replaced by logical inferences, until at last all landmarks disappear and history loses itself in the intricate mazes of mythology. But within that limit there is hardly any break or discontinuity. A link may be missing here and there but there is no doubt about the chain itself. It is our business to reconstruct the past, to supply the missing links if possible, but it is not for us to break the chain into pieces or to ignore any of the existing links.

If the unity of History is admitted, how do we explain the popularity of chronological treatment ? The answer is simple. The magnitude of the subject baffles our intellectual resources, and unable to grasp the whole we try to achieve the maximum results by devoting our limited time and intellect to the most elaborate examination of a part. The scientific method of historiography, for which we are indebted to the great German savants of the nineteenth century, at once demands a more intensive and extensive examination of the original sources and necessarily restricts the period to be reviewed. Paradoxical though it may seem, there is no inconsistency between the accepted theory and the actual practice. A Botanist may devote his researches to the fossil plants or to the flora of a particular region or even to a particular order or genus of plants without any disloyalty to his science. A Zoologist, unable to traverse the entire animal kingdom, may quite reasonably restrict his survey to the Batrachians or to the minute polyps that build up the coral islands. That does not imply that he is oblivious of the existence of other forms of life. Similarly, when a historian puts a chronological limit to the subject of his enquiry, he does not deny, even by implications, the wider scope of his science ; he simply confesses his own limitations. When we speak of 'modern,' 'mediaeval' or 'ancient' history, we do not ignore the intimate interrelations of the different periods and the organci connection between the preceding and the succeeding ages. Convenience alone dictates a practice which conviction may find far from the ideal.

Regional segmentation of History also is not without serious difficulties. A Chemist may very well isolate an element in his laboratory and examine its properties. A Bacteriologist may culture a particular microbe and segregate it to study its life history. Can we in the same sense and to the same extent isolate a particular geographical unit for historical investigations ? Can we, to be more concrete, isolate India for such a purpose ? Was India at any time in her chequered past so cut off from the rest of the world as to pursue her course independent of her environments ? Known facts hardly support such a hypothesis. We have not yet been able to read the script once in vogue at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. We do not know what language those ancient people spoke but we know that there was a great affinity between the civilisation that flourished in the lost cities of Sind and the Punjab millenniums before the birth of Christ and that of ancient Mesopotamia. Is it an accident that clay seals with animal figures and pictographs similar to those of Mohenjo Daro have been discovered in ancient Mesopotamian sites ? Are we sure that the Dravidians had nothing to do with the people of Sumer and Akkad ? Did the Aryans evolve their civilisation entirely in the congenial soil of the land of the five rivers or did they bring the rudiments of their culture from their original home now no longer remembered ? Coming to historical times we find that the first important facts of which we are aware relate to other people and other lands. If the details of the Persian invasion have been lost, the Macedonian expedition forms the first landmark in ancient Indian history. Can we ignore the importance of the Hellenic sources, the Ceylonese sources, the Chinese and the Tibetan sources in reconstructing India's past ? India's relations with the world outside grow wider and more intimate as we approach our own times. Civilisations and cultures have a tendency to migrate from land to land irrespective of racial movements. I need not apologise for repeating these truisms, for in recent times there has been such a craze for overspecialisation at an immature stage that a thorough revision of our syllabus and a complete reorientation of our studies are definitely called for.

Regional segmentation of History is based to a certain extent on logical and psychological grounds. Though we recognise the unity of History, we cannot deny the diversity of human impulses. Human mind reacts differently under different stimuli and responds differently to different environments. Geography, as is commonly acknowledged, shapes History but geographical influences may be modified or accentuated by human action as happened to the Mediterranean region and England respectively after the discovery of the new world. Though human civilisation is one in its essentials, it has many phases and diverse aspects. Every man moreover feels a greater interest in his immediate neighbourhood. That is why we start with that branch of History which deals with our own country, our own people and our own times. That is the justification of the Indian History Congress and the Modern Indian History Section. That is why so many parallel and perpendicular lines have been drawn across the wide domain of History. That is why we are not content with political history alone but we feel the need of cultural and institutional history as well. After all, ideas are more important than deeds; for deeds are at best the outward reflection of the ideas which supply the motive force in all human affairs. Ideas transcend time and space but the same ideas may not gain currency in all parts of the world, the same principle may not dominate human action in all countries during the same chronological period. Therefore, the same chronological division does not hold good for all regions.

To return from the abstract to the concrete, when did the Modern Age begin in this country? 'Modern,' 'medieval' and 'ancient' are relative terms and we cannot draw a line of demarcation which will hold good for all time. Chronological boundaries are liable to change like the shifting course of a river, but unlike geographical limits historical termini are never clear cut or distinct. We cannot say without being charged with undue dogmatism that a certain epoch came to an abrupt end on a particular day in a particular year when the succeeding age immediately came into being. We cannot ring out the obsolete period and ring in the new. They merge into one another and for a considerable time the line of demarcation is blurred and indistinct. Provision should, therefore, be made for an interregnum between two distinct historical periods and for periodical revision of their limits.

The duration of a historical period is determined by the efficiency of its dominant principles. A negative influence indicates decadence and intellectual anarchy usually marks the dissolution of the old order but does not denote the inauguration of the new. The period of decadence forms the interregnum. A new age is associated with harmony and order. When forms are devoid of reality, when theories cease to be based on facts, we find the surest evidence of approaching revolution which is to evolve order out of chaos. But the process is likely to cover many decades. It is easy to say when the decline of the Mughal empire began, but is it possible to assign a precise date to its fall? The premonitions of the impending disaster were probably perceived as early as the first decade of the 18th century, but will it not be rash to assert that the Mughal empire ceased to exist with the passing away of the great Alamgir ? When did the end come ? With the invasion of Nadir Shah ? With the murder of Alamgir II ? With the British occupation of Delhi ? The empire as a political entity ceased to function long before Nadir Shah exposed its hollowness to a horrified India, but the form survived the reality and a Padshah continued to reside in the red fort of Shahjahan till the anachronism was removed in the middle of the last century.

Does the passing away of the empire synchronise with the advent of the Modern Age in India ? Was the so-called Mughal period essentially medieval in its political institutions, intellectual outlook and economic organisation ?

In Europe the seventeenth century witnessed that intellectual revolution and religious upheaval which marked the end of medieval faith and established the modern supremacy of reason. Blind faith gradually yielded place to reasoned conviction. In the next century religion gradually ceased to enjoy any political importance as the Church had been subordinated to the State. Science occupied the predominant place that formerly belonged to Theology. By this test Modern Indian History does not begin before the middle of the nineteenth century. The new ideas had indeed been long in the air, the spirit of rebellion was already at work, but as a single swallow does not make the spring, so the bold pioneers do not make the new age, though they are certainly the harbingers of the future order. The Revolutionary period in Europe did not begin with Voltaire and Rousseau ; it commenced when their teachings lost their novelty and their theories became the accepted political creed of the common people. Not until the new ideas become commonplace can the new age be said to have fairly commenced. The royal astronomer of Jaipur was in close intellectual contact with his fellow scientists in the West. Jai Singh took every care to have the standard Western works on Astronomy translated into Persian but he was far in advance of his times. He was not a typical representative of his age. Another pioneer was Ram Mohan of Bengal, but an age is to be judged not by its geniuses but by the common man. The common man in Ram Mohan's days still confused faith with reason. The Age of Reason in India, the Modern Age, the Scientific Age is hardly a century old and for aught we know it is probably quickly nearing its close. The world war may usher new ideas and novel conceptions in the light of which the present state of things may appear obsolete and out of date and the future historian may have once again to revise his chronology and rearrange his charts.

What will be the central theme of Modern Indian History? Many headings may be, and have been, suggested. Pax Brittanica, Evolution of Democratic Institutions, Growth of Capitalism, Decay of Rural India, Rise of Militant Nationalism, Passing of the Old Order, Diffusion of Western Learning, Growth of Vernacular Literature, will each make a catching title. As manifestations of the modern mind in India they deserve a careful examination and analysis, and some excellent monographs have already been written. Interesting as these movements are, they form nothing but a clue to the dominant force that gave our times their characteristic features. The central theme round which they will fit in a harmonious and consistent pattern is, however, different; it is the Fusion of Culture. Fusion of Culture is not a new thing in India and in the ancient Hindu colonies in the Far East. India has been from time immemorial the meeting place of many races; in this magic cauldron have been thrown diverse languages, cults and civilisations, to be brewed into a wonderful potion that still brings solace and peace to millions of human beings. But how the synthesis was effected, what proportion of alien elements was eliminated, how much of foreign civilisation was absorbed, we do not exactly know. What was the contribution of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa to the Vedic culture and Indo-Aryan civilisation? How many members of the Dravidian pantheon were transformed into Hindu deities and transported to the Hindu paradise? Did the noseless *Dasyu* absolutely fail to influence the culture of the fair conqueror? What is India's indebtedness to China and Tibet, to Greece and Rome, to the older civilisations of Babylon and Assyria? Our available data are so meagre that we must remain content with conjectures and surmises. We are on firmer ground when we come to the Muslim period, but here also our sources are not as wide and voluminous as we might wish. The intensity of our researches must depend on the extent of our sources, and when we come to modern times, our sources grow in variety as well as in volume. India is no longer the fabulous land of the pagoda tree; it is an integral part of the busy world within easy reach of every civilised country. If the balance of trade is slightly upset in any corner of the world, the reaction is at once felt in India. If a literary genius makes his *début* in an obscure town of Latin America, his works find admiring readers in this country. If a momentous scientific discovery is made in Europe, it is immediately exploited here either for industrial purposes or for intellectual edification. Never before had the fusion of two cultures been more complete, the synthesis of two civilisations more harmonious, the intercourse between different races more fruitful. This fusion of cultures, this synthesis of civilisations, this union of peoples might form a fitting subject for the pen of a Mommsen, might inspire the imagination of a Gibbon and enlist the industry of a Ranke. But Mommsens, Gibbons and Rankes are not born every day. The task of a genius must, therefore, be undertaken by a corporation of scholars. There is ample scope of co-operation in the service of our muse. Ours is an industry where competition does not necessarily contribute to efficiency. Ours is a journey which must be shared by all without the least intention of stealing a march over a fellow wayfarer.

Before concluding I feel tempted to make one enquiry which I hope will not be deemed impertinent. The Modern West has relegated religion to the background. What is the position of Religion in Modern India? Has spiritualism completely yielded place to materialism under the impact of the West? The State in India does not derive its sanction from Theology today. But are the current political creeds totally unaffected by the teachings of the old scriptures? That they are free from priestly influences is apparent. Mr. Gandhi is not a Brahmin, Mr. Jinnah is not a *Mullah*. But we are too near the events to have a correct perspective. The 'unchanging' East is having a mad-orgy of changes, but it is too early to assert that she has cast her mysticism aside. Science has worked wonders in every sphere of life but spiritualism may at the last resort seek refuge in the very science that shook its foundation so badly. Some day probably an Indian Tawney or an Indian Weber will take up this fascinating subject but neither the proper man nor the appropriate moment has arrived as yet.

I am not inclined to blame my countrymen because more work on Modern Indian history has been done in the British Isles than in India. Our British friends had an early start. They had ready access to the contemporary official records, private correspondence of prominent personages and family papers preserved in the public and private archives of England, while access to archives in India was strictly limited. Only the fortunate few who could cross the sea and go to London and Paris in search of their sources could employ their time and industry to some useful purpose. Others had necessarily to confine their investigations to more convenient subjects for which ample materials were available in India. But things of late have luckily changed for the better. The Government of India have recently thrown the portals of their record rooms wide open to all seekers of knowledge. The Provincial Governments are sure to follow the example of the Centre sooner or later. Our scholars must now exploit this unique opportunity to the best of their abilities. Let them come to this vast storehouse of knowledge with a co-ordinated scheme so that a minute of their time, an ounce of their energy, a pie of their money may not be wasted through unnecessary reduplication of labour. Let me assure you that there is ample work for each and every one of us in these unexplored mines.

If our study is to be exhaustive and thorough, it will not do to confine our attention to the State archives alone. Equally voluminous records may be awaiting the scholar's scrutiny in private custody all over the country. The old records lying uncared for in the Zemindar's *katcheri*, in the ancient temples and monasteries, in the family mansions of the rich, the grocer's ledgers, the banker's accounts, the *dhobi's* bill, the farmer's wages roll, the housewife's bazar chits must all be laid under contribution and every place from the Prince's palace to the peasant's hut must be scoured for them. A concerted survey must be organised in every province, in every district to bring these valuable private records to light. We can do nothing better than emulate the example of a noble son of the Punjab. Born in the land of the five rivers Dr. Balakrishna transferred his sphere of activities to far-off Maharashtra. He started his work in the British archives but later turned his attention to the indigenous records in private custody. His was not a solitary quest, for in Maharashtra many sincere scholars have devoted their lives to this noble work. Our muse is an exacting mistress; she demands undivided devotion and the frail physique of Dr. Balakrishna could not bear the strain. He died in harness. Two years back he presided over this section at Allahabad and his voice must be still ringing in your ears. Last year he sent a resolution to the Indian Historical Records Commission calling upon Government of India to secure transcripts of all contemporary records relating to this country now preserved in lands beyond the seas. He passed away before his mission was fulfilled. It is for us who survive to take up his unfinished work. May his tired soul find peace and consolation in the assurance that his colleagues will do what he left undone, his friends will complete what he left unfinished and his countrymen will achieve his cherished hopes and devout desires.

The history of Modern India has yet to be written. To outsiders India is a land of complexities and contradictions. Her culture has never been exclusive, her civilisation has never been aggressive, her conservatism has always been tempered with a toleration all her own. Reverence for the old has never degenerated here to aversion of the new. Assimilation and not annihilation has been her racial policy. It is for the future historian to say whether India has been true to herself in the commercial clashes and racial conflicts of the last two centuries. It will be our task to bring together and preserve for the future generations this rightful heritage, the raw materials of Modern Indian history. It will be our duty rescue from decay and dissolution these indigenous records on which Modern Indian history must be based. It will be our care to rouse the public conscience and to persuade the custodians of the public purse to do their duty by the archives in India, public and private.

CRITICAL APPROACH AND AGNOSTICISM

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A rational being is said to execute three sorts of functions: he *thinks*, *feels*, and *wills* and as a sequel to an exercise of such functions, he has what we call his 'experience.' Thus whatever he thinks, whatever he feels and whatever he wills, he *experiences*, although somewhat differently in each case. Now, if it be asked: how is that difference in experience known?—The question turns difficult and confusing. So long as a man loses his consciousness in what he is conscious of, he grazes on the common pasture, he shares the general functional life of the world around him, he lives through the function and cannot be held to have an awareness of his independence. But if he could discover himself in that situation, he would find that though a part of his experience and an organ thereof, he is as experiencer—विज्ञाता, something over and above his experience. But ordinarily nothing of the kind happens, and this has encouraged the materialists to deny the reality of the self. The rationalist has presumed the existence of a self through a process of elimination and abstraction and afterwards has experienced great difficulty in linking it back to the world of experience. The objectivist, on the other hand, has started from an independent object and then introduced the self somehow in the constitution of experience. The present essay is an attempt to show the irrationality of both the procedures and to propose a third method of approach at the end.

Man, in so far as he only experiences but does not care to analyse the specific nature of such experience, is literally lost to it and has no recognition of his own independence. He is then a sharer in the common, natural and normal existence—a member of the thinking, feeling and willing world, but ignorant of the essence of the distinction between what can think, feel and will, and what cannot do so. Further, the specific nature of the different modes of experience remains unknown to him. He knows but does not know what constitutes his knowing and the distinctive aspects of that experience.

There is another movement. If he abstracts himself from what he does, contemplates what he really is in his independence, he passes beyond all objectivity and, consequently, beyond rationality and settles in the area of pure consciousness. This state is one of pure subjectivity when the seer abides in his own proper self—द्रष्टुः स्वरूपेऽवस्थानम् । Now if we name these stages as empirical and suprarational respectively, we find that in none of them we get any answer to our question : how is the difference in experience cognised ? The former is unconscious of any such question, the latter has transcended it. A critical understanding must, therefore, try some other course and this was exactly the attempt of Kant. He pursued what he called the 'Transcendental method' and for a rational understanding of experience, such method is the only method.

To know the distinction in experiences, we are at the very outset to suppose them to be the different functions of one and the same agent. To be distinct, facts must be comparable and to be comparable they must agree in their attachment to some common basis. Unity is thus the background of all differentiations and contrasts. Hegel, more than any one else, seems to understand this. When he says that contradictions and syntheses form the basis for a construction of the world of thought and being, he means that contradictions of any description constitute the drive to a synthesis. But while Hegel is over-anxious about the fact of synthesis which is his absorbing interest, a critical philosopher will view the synthesis only as a means to understanding the difference. The synthetic unity is virtually a postulate of thought which he presupposes for interpreting the varied character of given experiences. Thus while an aspirant rationalist thinks of the unity of the self divested of all functions as factitious and adventitious, and a dialectitian like Hegel contemplates a synthetic unity as the repository of the contradictories, a critical philosopher regards the unity as the synthetic unity of apperception, regards it as a postulate or presupposed notion and, without attempting an explanation of that unity, tackles the problem of the constitution of experience and the different modes of approaches that it manifests. He acknowledges that experience can be interpreted and understood only through a tacit reference to an agency unique and unchangeable all through its constructions, but he refrains from submitting an account of that unity in ego, which being a transcendental condition of experience, is in itself not conditioned by it.

The Tradition is to take a theory in terms of either idealism or realism. Those two " —isms " are view-points with which a student of philosophy is expected to be familiar and any suggestions, new or old, which he proposes to make (it is urged on him), should be defined in terms of either of them. Otherwise, it is feared, things remain unintelligible. The critical theorist will thus be asked to take sides. But a closer survey of the pages of a History of Philosophy will reveal that our ordinary characterisation of a theory as realistic or idealistic is wrong and misleading. The different systems of thought exhibit no strictly common and comparable features. When a philosopher plans a theory he does so not because his puzzle-loving mind directs him to speculate about new shocks, but because his enlightened self wants to communicate itself to the environment. He works under an inspiration and his motive thus is a real and impelling one. The material he works with may be ancient, but the construction which alone can tell the story of his genius, is readable only with reference to the specific direction of the thought of his own mind. And in this, individual specialities outweigh the social instinct. In view of this fact we shall refrain from defining the standpoint of the critical philosopher in terms of realism and idealism. Indeed, there is hardly any justification for any such characterisation. For, while idealism starts with the subject of cognition, and realism with the independent object, a critical philosopher pursuing the transcendental method, starts with experience or knowledge-relation itself. An autonomous subject and an externally existent object are to him unknowables. While the mystic speaks of a self-knowledge or transcendental consciousness and an objectivist, of the knowability of an existence independent of knowing, he can admit only its *thinkability*, but not its *knowability* also. In what follows, we shall attempt an explanation of his method and examine the consequences thereof.

Whenever we reflect, we find ourselves in a state of transitive awareness. Pure subjective consciousness, even if there be any such moment of our rational life, is not what can be thought back or reascertained. The presentation of an object is what constitutes the ' Transitive-ness ' of consciousness. But this object is not necessarily a material thing outside, it may be a mental state within or even a cognition compresent with our state of awareness. The philosopher, pursuing the transcendental method has to think out the possibilities of such a transitive experience and thereupon to explain the specialities of its different species. A phenomenon like the cognition of cognition has no direct bearing upon his enquiry although he resorts to it sometimes for an explanation of objective perception, of which it is a further construction. Thus, in his reflective analysis, he may start from a cognition of cognition and then retrospectively, arrive at the original perceptual moment, at the so-called primary perception, in order to determine its conditions and presuppositions. But, at this point, it is necessary that we should guard ourselves against possible misconceptions. When we maintain that the specific character of a cognition and the general conditions thereof, can be ascertained through reflective analysis or transcendental method, we do not mean that a cognition of cognition is itself that expedient. The method of reflection or the Kantian transcendental method is very different from a cognition of cognition. Although it is maintained by some that a cognition of cognition or secondary knowledge can illumine and explain the primary consciousness, we think that such is possible only through a reflective consciousness very different from a secondary cognition ; and that even the so-called secondary cognition, being a transitive awareness, is itself dependent upon reflection. While a reflective consciousness points out and implies a subject other than an object and reveals the emergent character of the particular conscious state, a secondary cognition loses itself in a particular mode of objectivity, appearing in the form of a primary cognition. The former is consciousness that reveals knowing while the latter is a particular type of knowledge, unconscious of itself. The knowing of knowledge activity is not the same as the knowing of a knowlege product and a reflective consciousness should not be misunderstood for a tertiary cognition. The attitude is what matters here and in reflective consciousness, the attitude is speculative, subjective, and transcendental, but in the case of primary, secondary, tertiary and similar other forms of cognition, the attitude is empirical, contemplative, and objective. One may know an object, then know that one has known it and even go on knowing one's knowledge of the knowing of an object and so on *ad infinitum* without ever rising to the consciousness of what makes all those knowings and the specific aspects of such knowings. So long as the objective attitude is preserved, one will be knowing and knowing and knowing, but evidently without any conscious purpose of one's own, in sole response to the lure of an objectivity. A transcendental reflection consists not in being aware of an awareness simply, but in being able to interpret an awareness in the light of its presuppositions and conditions. Thus when we know not the bare fact of knowing, but think out what constitutes our knowing, when we are conscious not of a past consciousness as a *fact*, but conscious of its conditions and implications, we have a transcendental attitude or interpretative consciousness. And this method is what Kant formulated in his criticism of experience.

Though it is widely held yet it is quite incorrect to maintain that Kant was a philosophical successor of René Descartes and that he started with a duality between *res cogitans* and *res extensa*. His knowledge of his predecessors—the empiricists and rationalists, the subjectivists and the objectivists lent him a motive to shun the view-points of the extremists and to revise his attitude towards facts. What he attempted in his critiques is not to effectuate a forced reconciliation of rationalism and empiricism or to bridge over the gulf between knower and object, but to formulate a principle characteristically his own and to show its adequacy as a method of true philosophy. He understood that an independent object or an absolute subject cannot form the starting-point of a philosophical enquiry, for they are not what matter most or what are primarily given to us. Even to enquire into the possibility and conditions of experience, it is experience itself that serves as the datum and warrants any enquiry for us. The task of a philosopher was, according to him, criticism or rationalisation of experience. That experience is and that it is possible were the postulates of experience itself—what constitutes and conditions that experience and the necessary limitations that our experience implies—were for him matters for investigation. It is an immanent criticism of experience that he recognised as being capable of answering his several questions. The problem was no doubt, partly anticipated by the Celebrated Locke. But his psychological method failed to lead him to right conclusions. Kant fully agreed with Hume about the latter's disastrous deductions from the principles of Locke, which 'roused him from his dogmatic slumber' and induced him to leave off the school of Baumgarten and Christian Wolfe. But the dogmatic slumber from which he was roused was not an uncritical acceptance of the principles of rationalism but the wrong direction of the mind in holding that a problem of philosophy may at all start with *res cogitans* or *res extensa*—in supposing that the so-called

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empiricism and rationalism were genuinely philosophical methods. Kant was aware that Locke could not validate his promise but for his blindness to the fact that a psychological method like his own was inherently incompetent to the task of criticism. Such a method was objectivistic, while a critical method could be only transcendental. Locke's method, further, had based itself on two huge assumptions:—firstly, that what was not in the psyche in a particular moment of its life was necessarily non-existent and secondly, that the psyche could be framed out of the physique, which latter conception ended in the materialism of Condillac. The first assumption was tested by Leibniz and refuted in his theory of monads. The monads of Leibniz were capable of unfolding and manifesting what in one stage of their life was dormant and sub-conscious. This is however, psychological refutation but though a seemingly valid refutation it could not fully satisfy Kant. He never believed in Leibniz's theory of the 'windowless' monads and could not appreciate the view that finished facts of knowledge could ever lie dormant from the first and then thrust themselves on the conscious sphere through any mechanical exertion. The other assumption that the psyche received all its contents from the physical world and then through tendencies of association could construct the world of knowledge, when developed scientifically by Hume, showed that knowledge was practically impossible. This was a lesson for Kant and he came to understand that knowledge remains unaccounted for and unexplained, from the standpoints of both the rationalists and the empiricists. He awoke from his dogmatic slumbers and wanted to pursue a different mode of approach: by starting from knowledge or experience itself and following the transcendental method.

A reflective consciousness reveals that knowledge is not only transitive but also personal. The transitive character points to an object other than the act of cognition, and the personal character hints at a subject. But does it not then imply a duality? Kant would not hesitate to acknowledge it, but still he would hold that what we find or start with is not the duality but a synthetic consciousness that implies it. We are not to know nor are we to show how an independent subject comes in contact with an independent object. All that is required of us is to explain the constitution of knowledge and its implications. It is when examining the structure of knowledge that we, through reflection, arrive at a consciousness of a duality, but

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we do not begin with it. Thus we come to know that what we call 'knowledge' is no unit, or in that sense, a fact, but a relation. But a relation implies relata and is an *emergence* We, as it is apparent, do not subscribe to the view of internal relation or eternal relation. A relation is what happens or what is in time ; a timeless relation, even if there were any such possibility, could not be apprehended by a finite mind. But how can the parties which are originally unrelated come to be related together ? A Bradley would argue that unless you admit the internality of relation, the relata not in relation would require a go-between to come into relation, and then each of the relata to approach that arbiter would require another arbiter and so on indefinitely. Thus A to be related to B, will require a medium C and then each of them, A, B, to be related to the medium itself would require D and E which latter will stand in need of further media. Kant anticipated such objections and he put forth the solutions partly in his Transcendental Aesthetic and partly in his Analytic, in connection with his enunciation of the doctrine of the Skematism of the Pure Intellect. The knower to know an object needs be connected with it through the medium of a third thing, but this latter does not stand in need of any other medium but itself to bring forth the connection. If the medium itself were a fact or an entity similarly absolute, there would have been no escape from a regress *ad infinitum.* But happily such is not necessarily the nature of the medium which is a form of *intuiting.* The subject is related with the object in so far as the former intuites the latter and a mode of intuition stands for an immediate contact. This mode of contact or apprehension can, in no good sense, be supposed to require some other medium—the slapping on the face itself is not to be slapped so that there can be slapping at all. Kant explains this mode of intuition which itself does not require to be intuited, in his Aesthetic, and he holds that there are two forms by means of which an intuition can be symbolized—space and time. If the subject is to know and the object is to be known, it is necessary that the latter should communicate itself to the former,—the object should conform to the subject. Kant holds that such a communication is possible through the passivity of the subject and that space and time are the forms of such passivity. It may be questioned whether this view of space and time is sound—whether space and time can be modes of intuition at all. Kant in his Metaphysical and Transcendental

Expositions demonstrates the *a priori* character of space and time and their sensible character as distinct from 'rational' character. They are described as representing the receptive side of the subject as distinct from its constructive aspect. But some explanation is here necessary. It is a truism that the passivity of the subject means nothing but the 'given-ness' of the object. When is the subject passive and why? The subject is passive not of its own accord, but in its dependence on an objective presentation. So that there can be any presentation or perception at all, it is necessary that the subject should receive something against itself. The presentation, to proceed from the other side, to be what it is must be presented, or, intuited, or, simply, '*given*.' Thus what is 'givenness' from the side of the object is the passive reception from the side of the subject. Kant holds that space and time have two-fold character—they are the symbols of 'givenness' of the object and the forms of intuition of the subject. Mind, to an average thinker, stands for an independent substance, unextended and intensively determined. Accepting that conception, how can we justify such uses as 'This is in my mind' and 'This was not in my mind! Do they not really imply that mind is extensive and has a spatial character? Is this not contradicting the view maintained above. But we need not be discouraged by the above consequences. Mind is indescribable otherwise than as an apparatus of perception—an instrumentality through which things are given to us. Minding is passively noting something or receiving something and any such reception holds only in space and time. Therefore, it can be concluded that in so far as objects are minded, mind is the same as space and time.

From the foregoing analysis, Kant concluded: if things are known to us only as we have them in perception, only as they appear in space and time, is not our knowledge phenomenal so that we can speak nothing about things as independent existents or as 'ungiven'? This is consistent with the critical standpoint, but there are critics without critical insight, and so objections are raised: should we not hold in that case that there is no gulf between the things as they appear and as they really are? How can we say that the 'ungiven' is unknown without knowing the 'unknownness'? The point is difficult and the opponent is ambitious so much so that he wants to demolish the whole of the Kantian edifice at a single stroke. But the answer was anticipated by the old Kant. As the objects we cognise are *given* to us and nor created by our mind, we must acknowledge their existence somewhere outside ourselves and outside space and time. It may be that what we know of them are what objects essentially are, still we cannot pretend that we know them in their independence, or know them as unknown to us. That the object is not in us will be admitted by everyone other than a Berkeleyan idealist. The simple presumption is this that when we know it, we take it as *with* us and not as *without* us. The 'without-ness' of the object is a belief, to a critical realist, of the modern era and to Kant, it is a postulate of empirical knowledge, ascertainable in thought only. The thing-in-itself is thus *thinkable* according to Kant but not *knowable.* But is not thinking a special sort of knowing ? Kant does not look at them in the light of species-genus relation and he was correct. We know an objectivity but not the instrument of all objectification also. The thing in-itself is a necessary presupposition of all 'given-ness,' it is the instrumentality which makes articulate the notion of 'given-ness,' and as such, it is in itself not 'given.' It is a postulate of thought that moves with the thinking of all objectivity and as such it is only *in* thought and never *without* thought as a *fact.* By the reality of an object, Kant means its independence only and he holds that the reality of the object, or object as real, is not known, what is known is the appearance of the object., The reason is that an object is not given to us as *outside* us but as *in* us or *with* us. A naive realist will hardly accept the argument, for, in his opinion, outside-ness is as much a character of the object as its nearness and distance. But a closer scrutiny will show that such spatial measurements are not absolute and that a distant object may otherwise be near, for its position is relative to that of the percipient.

The above is one side of the alleged agnosticism of Kant and the other part is enunciated in his metaphysics of soul, God and other transcendental notions. Kant does not practically deny them. What he denies is a theoretical knowledge of them. In the range of theoretical reason or understanding, knower has to wait for the appearance of the 'given' through the intuitions of space and time. and its forms of construction or *categories* remain empty without it. Now that the metaphysical entities cannot be conditioned by sensuous intuitions, we cannot predicate any objectivity of them and as such we have to think of them without knowing. To know the metaphysical entities we should have an intuition of them, but as no sensuous intuition applies in their case we cannot take them as real in the sense of being independent objects outside ourselves. We may have some other type of intuition, *viz.*, nonsensuous intuition, but what is non-sensuously attended to, cannot be categorised and known; it remains an idea of pure reason, inseparable from thought and, therefore, unattainable as an objectivity independent of thinking.

At this stage, we shall be asked to answer whether thinking is possible without knowing and we have scarcely any difficulty to get over the opposition. The mind may be a *tabula rasa* without a sense-representation, but the minder or the subject is not inert and inactive. Even when it has nothing to know, it *is* something and its essence lies in free-thinking. We admit the reality of the subject as we admit the independence of the object ; the former *is* in so far as it thinks without knowing and the latter *is* in so far as it is unknowable. Kant had no difficulty to escape the criticism, for he uses the two words ' thinking ' and ' knowing ' in specific senses. ' Knowing ' to him means theoretical or objective knowing, while ' thinking ' is for him ' practical awareness ' that can have no demonstration in objective knowledge. He holds that though it is the very same human reason that expresses itself in thinking, knowing and feeling, the expressions, because of the speciality of their respective conditions, have got to be treated as different and not identical. While thinking, we have no opposition of the objective world to face, so that thinking becomes free and identical with our activity or willing. But in knowing or feeling, this is not possible. What we know is not ourselves and hence, reason is here opposed to an ' other ' and our knowing is a determinate and conditional awareness. Feeling or the power of aesthetic appreciation holds a position intermediate between thinking or willing on the one hand, and knowing, on the other. Here we have a consciousness which though dependent on some sort of presentation, is still independent of and uninvolved in that presentation itself. In the aesthetic appreciation of the beautiful, we must have an ' occasion ' for our feeling of beauty, we cannot *will* beauty as we choose. But though thus dependent on the presentation of an object, the ' beauty ' is an emotional concept and the feeling of beauty is not in the object, nor is there beauty in the so-called beautiful character of the object. The object has some shape and colour, some scent and some peculiar sensation of touch, but neither of these singly, nor, all of these conjointly can constitute ' beauty.'

Beauty is *through our appreciation* of the object and as such it is but a mode of appreciation, although the mode for its exercise requires an 'occasion' presented by an objectivity. But this appreciation, though possible only alongside the presentation is not involved in it, it is entirely subjective and characteristically unobjective.

Now, if it be asked, though thus different, whether these functions —knowing, feeling and willing, are essentially the same, Kant's answer will be in the negative. He has before him the task to explain, how it is possible for one and the same subject to express itself differently through knowing, feeling and willing and he endeavours to show what makes these functions distinct. Therefore, it is none of his undertakings to blot out the distinctions in experiences. He shows that the self as unconditioned and free is willing; it is pure activity, autonomous and categorical—it is thinking without knowing. The self as feeling is that *a priori* faculty which on the occasion of certain objective presentation, reads 'signs' which are not in the object, *viz.*, 'beauty' or 'ugliness' for enjoyment and recreation. Lastly, the self as knowing, is the unity of apperception which attains to its self-synthesis in and through the synthesis it achieves in the constitution of the object. While thus explaining the differences in experiences, he assumes on the one hand a free subject, not further describable and in itself unknown and unknowable, and, on the other hand, an equally unknowable objective back-ground, the thing-in-itself or the object in its independence.

The necessity for this assumption arises from the very nature of a critical method. A critical method or transcendental explanation as maintained at the very outset consists in studying the differences with reference to a unity. A soar to that unity, disregarding the differences in which the unity expresses itself, was not attempted by Kant, in order to remain consistent with his critical aim. The thing-in-itself had to be admitted without knowing to make knowledge of objects possible, and a free subject had to be presupposed, to explain human experience in all its modes. This is his agnosticism and it is unavoidable for one with critical instinct.

BOARD AND VOLANTARY SCHOOLS OF ENGLAND AND WALES, 1870-1926

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IV

Post-Elementary Education Organization

THE report of the consultative committee of the board of education published in 1925-26 made the following recommendation as regards the organization of the post-primary education:

According to the recommendation of the consultative committee the primary education should end at the age of 11. Pupils at that age should either be transferred to a different school or to a different type of education from that given to the pupils under the age of 11. This post-primary education would end for the majority of the pupils at 14, though for many, it will continue up to the age of 16, and for some to 18 or 19. This post-primary education will include junior technical schools, and alternative types of schools or modern schools.

1. The modern schools will include selective central schools which will give a four-year course from the age of 11 with a realistic or practical trend for the last two years.

2. It will also include non-selective central schools, and may either be the only central school in the area, or may exist side by side with the selective central schools, and for the less intelligent pupils, who will not go to the selective central schools. These schools will offer courses for a period of three or four years, which will be narrower in scope than those given in the grammar schools. The handicraft and other subjects of practical character should be included in the curricula of these modern schools. The last two years of the modern school should not include vocational courses. Junior technical schools and art departments should be encouraged to meet local demands. Arrangements should be made for removing brilliant pupils from modern schools to grammar schools, and also for transferring retarded pupils from grammar schools to modern or junior technical schools. Written examinations should be given to all pupils who should enter

some type of post-primary schools at the age of 11 to determine their abilities and interests.

In 1926-27 the number of senior departments increased from 598 to 652, and the number of pupils attending them, from 155,469 to 168,536.

In 1926-27 the number of departments of all kinds affected by the reorganizations was 550, as against 250, in the previous years.[1]

NURSERY SCHOOLS

There were 25 nursery schools in 1921-22, and 334 evening play centers were recognized as against 379 in the previous years. In 1922-23 there were 24 nursery schools with an accommodation for 1,132 children. The evening play centers declined in numbers in comparison with the year 1921-22. On March 31, 1923 there were 241 centers.[2]

During 1924-25 twenty-seven centers conducted nursery schools for the training and care of children between the ages of two and five. One thousand three hundred and seven children were accommodated in these nursery schools. On March 31, 1925, there were 256 evening play-centers, with an enrolment of 52,000 children.

In 1926-27 there were 264 evening play centers, and in 1927, there were 26 nursery schools with 1,367 children.[3]

GROWTH OF THE COUNCIL AND THE VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS

After the Balfour Education Bill of 1902 became law, the board schools were transferred into the councils and they were known as council schools. The voluntary schools were made a charge on the local rates, and one-third of the managers were elected by the local body. The voluntary schools thus came under public control.

The purpose here is to trace growth of these two types of schools after the passage of the Balfour Act. We noted already in the first issue of this article that the board schools made much more rapid progress than the voluntary schools although the latter were leading in the competition. But in the twentieth century we will see the council schools far surpassing the voluntary schools. We shall also notice that the statistical compilations are not made distinct and separate on educational costs, number of teachers, their qualifications, salary, subject of instruction, etc., for the council schools and voluntary schools.

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[1] Report of the Board of Education for the School, 1926-27, pp. 9-13.

[2] A *Ibid.*, for 1921-22, p. 77. B *Ibid.*, for 1922-23, p.149. C *Ibid.*, p. 150.

[3] A *Ibid.*, 1924-25, p. 169. B *Ibid.*, 1926-27, p. 66.

In this article besides the study of the comparative growth of the council and the voluntary schools attempt will be made also to show the gradual growth of school population, average attendance, educational costs, teachers' qualifications, salary, attendance, courses of study, etc.

In the year 1903 the number of council schools was 5,975 with an accommodation for 3,065,169 children. The voluntary schools numbered 14,238 with an accommodation for 3,722,317 children.[4]

Statistics for Wales, reveal that on July 31, 1906, the council schools numbered 1,030 with an accommodation for 52,412 children. The voluntary schools numbered 744 with an accommodation for 141,976 children.

On July 31, 1909, the council schools numbered 1,133 with an accommodation for 390,954 children and the voluntary schools numbered 690 with an accommodation for 131,140 children.[5]

In 1915 the number of council schools for England and Wales was 8,603 with an accommodation for 4,289,134 children; the voluntary schools numbered 12,439 with an accommodation for 2,750,472 children.[6]

In 1916 the number of council schools for England and Wales rose to 8,609 with an accommodation of 4,312,756; and the voluntary schools numbered 12,360 with an accommodation for 2,742,036 children.[7]

In 1918 the council schools for England and Wales numbered 8,621 with an accommodation of 4,329,252; and the voluntary schools numbered 12,302, with an accommodation for 2,736,913 pupils.[8]

In 1920 the council schools for England and Wales numbered 8,705 with an accommodation of 4,354,951; and the voluntary schools numbered 12,266 with an accommodation for 2,731,026 pupils.[9]

In 1922 the number of council schools for England and Wales was 8,880 with an accommodation for 4,400,612 pupils; and the voluntary schools numbered 12,059 with 2,696,921 accommodations.[10]

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[4] Report of the Board of Education, 1916-18, p. 82.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1908-09, p. 303.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1914-18, p. 103.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1915-16, p. 82.

[8] *Ibid.*, 1917-18, p- 82.

[9] *Ibid.*, 1919-20, p. 99.

[10] *Ibid.*, 1921-22, p. 94.

For the year 1923 the council schools numbered 8,925 with 4,417,014 accommodations ; and the voluntary schools numbered 11,906 with 2,679,106 accommodations.[11]

In 1926 the council schools in England and Wales numbered 9,101 with 4,419,066 accommodations ; and the voluntary schools for England and Wales numbered 11,626 with 2,630,958 accommodations.[12]

ATTENDANCE IN ORDINARY PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND AND WALES

In 1910-11 the average number of scholars on the registers was 6,036,685 with an average attendance of 5,973,320. The percentage of average attendance to average number on registers was 89·01

In 1911-12 the average number of scholars on the registers was 5,033,982 with an average attendance of 5,357,507 pupils. The percentage of average attendance to average number on the registers was 88·79.

In 1912-13 the average number on registers was 6,047,217 with an average attendance of 5,365,873. The percentage of average attendance to average number on registers was 88·73.

The average attendance for 1914-15 was 5,354,640 ; for 1915-16 5,296,566, for 1916-17—5,220,177 ; and for 1917-18—5,184,220.[13]

The average number of scholars on registers for the year 1919-20 was 5,996,868 with an average attendance of 5,198,964. In 1920-21 the average number on registers was 5,933,468 with an average attendance 5,215,742.

In 1921-22 the average number of pupils on registers was 5,878,203 with an average attendance of 5,188,623.

The percentage of average attendance to average number on registers was 87·1 for 1919-20, 87·9 for 1920-21 ; and 83·3 for 1921-22.[14]

In 1922-23, the average attendance of scholars was 5,141,461.[15]

In 1921-22 the average number of scholars on the registers for England was 5,409,701, for Wales 469,091 with an average attendance of 4,783,783 for England and 405,326 for Wales. The percentage of average attendance on registers was 88·4 for England and 86·4 for Wales.

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[11] *Ibid.*, 1922-23, p. 173.

[12] *Ibid.*, 1925-26, p. 156.

[13] *Board of Education Report*, 1917-18, p. 82.

[14] *Ibid.*, 1921-22, p. 95.

[15] *Ibid.*, 1922-23, p. 174.

The average number of scholars on registers for the year 1922-23 was 5,296,373 in England and 462,850 in Wales with an average attendance of 4,738,134 for England and 405,530 for Wales. The percentage of average attendance to the number on the registers was 89·5 for England and 87·6 for Wales.

In 1923-24 the average number of scholars on registers was 5,209,637 for England and 460,418 for Wales with an average attendance of 4,623,878 in England and 402,802 in Wales. The percentage of average attendance to the number on the registers was 83·9 for England and 87·5 for Wales.

In 1924-25 the average number of scholars on the registers was 5,137,325 for England and 460,491 for Wales with an average attendance of 4,536,428 for England and 404,093 for Wales. The percentage of average attendance to the number on the registers was 88·3 for England and 87·7 for Wales.

In 1925-26 the average number of scholars on the registers was 5,168,702 for England and 462,858 for Wales with an average attendance of 4,551,276 for England and 405,309 for Wales. The percentage of average attendance to the number on the registers was 87·6.[16]

The number of scholars on the books on January 31 for each of the seven years refers to ordinary elementary schools, higher elementary schools, special schools, and certified efficient schools (England and Wales).

Year	Number of Scholars on the Books on January 31				Net increase or decrease
	Under Five	5 and under 12	12 and over	Total	
1912	320,889	4,636,926	1,088,770	6,046,485	...
1913	301,150	4,644,678	1,111,589	6 057,417	+10,832
1914	289,757	4,672,753	1,116,385	6,078,895	+21,478
1915	283,200	4,689,298	1,136,167	6,108,665	+29,770
1916	269,400	4,690,675	1,110,287	6,070,312	—38,353
1917	232,183	4,650,110	1,097,596	5,979,889	—90,423
1918	232,897	4,631,375	1,101,941	5,966,213	—13,676
1919	221,862	4,582,760	1,113,232	5,917,854	—48,359

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[16] Report of the Board of Education, 1925-26, p. 157.

From this Table[17] we see the number of schools increased from 1913 to 1915 and the number declined from 1916-1919. This decline in numbers is due to the Great War.

NUMBER OF VARIOUS TYPES OF SCHOOLS FOR ENGLAND AND WALES

In 1914-15 the number of ordinary public elementary schools in England was 19,154, in Wales 1,885. In England the higher elementary schools numbered 35, and in Wales 14, special schools numbered 386 in England and 10 in Wales.[18]

In 1915-16 the number of ordinary public elementary schools in England was 19,081, in Wales 1,888. The number for higher elementary schools in England was 33, and in Wales 14. Special schools in England numbered 391, and in Wales 10.[19]

In 1916-17 England had 19,056 ordinary public elementary schools and Wales had 1,883 ordinary public elementary schools. Higher elementary schools numbered 31 in England and 14 in Wales. Special schools numbered 411 in England and 10 in Wales.[20]

In 1917-18 ordinary public elementary schools numbered 19,043 in England and 1,880 in Wales.

The number of higher elementary schools in England was 30, and in Wales 14. The special schools in England numbered 435 and in Wales 10.

The number of public elementary schools for the year 1919-20 in England was 19,070 and in Wales 1,901.[21]

Special schools numbered 468 in England and 10 in Wales.[22]

The number of public elementary schools for the year 1921-22 was 19,033 in England, and 1,906 in Wales. The number of special schools was 510 in England and 13 in Wales [23]

Public elementary schools for the year 1922-23 numbered 18,930 in England and 1,901 in Wales. The number of special schools was 516 in England and 14 in Wales.[24]

In 1924-25 the number of elementary schools in England was 18,832, in Wales 1,902. Special schools numbered 533 in England and 14 in Wales.[25]

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[17] Report of the Board of Education, 1917-18, p. 82.

[18] *Ibid.*, 1914-15, p. 103.

[19] *Ibid.*, 1915-16, p. 82.

[20] *Ibid.*, 1916-17, p. 90.

[21] *Ibid.*, 1917-18, p. 81.

[22] *Ibid.*, 1919-20, p. 98.

[23] *Ibid.*, 1921-22, p. 94.

[24] *Ibid.*, 1922-23, p. 173.

[25] *Ibid.*, 1924-25, p. 198.

TEACHERS

Number of Teachers for every 1,000 Pupils in Average Attendance

For the years 1913-14, 1919-20, 1920-21 and 1921-22

In 1913-14 the number of certificated head teachers for every 1,000 pupils in average attendance was 5·9.

The number of assistant teachers was 14·3 ; the number of uncertificated teachers was 7·7, the number of supplementary teachers was 2·5. The total number for all types of teachers was 30·4.

The number for 1919-20, 6·0 for the certificated head teachers, 15·9 for certificated assistant teachers, the number for uncertificated teachers was 6·9 ; the number for supplementary teachers 2·6. The total number for all types of teachers was 31·4.

In 1920-21, the number for certificated head teachers was 6·0 ; the number for certificated assistant teachers was 16·2, the number for uncertificated teachers was 6·8, the number for supplementary teachers was 2·6. The total number for the whole types of teachers was 31·6.

In 1921-22, the number for certificated head teachers was 6·9, the number for certificated assistant teachers was 16·7 ; the number for uncertificated teachers was 6·7 and for supplementary teachers was 2·5. The total number for all types of schools was 32·8.

Thus we see the total number for all types of teachers per 1,000 pupils was increasing since 1913-14.

In 1913-14 the number of certificated teachers was 109,156 (66·6 %); in 1919-20 the number was 114,103 (69·9%); in 1920-21 the number rose to 116,073 (70·3%) and in 1921-22 the number was 118,026 (71·2%)

The number of uncertificated teachers for the year 1913-14 was 41,407 (2·53%); the number for 1919-20 was 35,772 (21·9%); in 1920-21 the number was 35,459 (21·5%) and in 1921-22 the number went down to 34,848 (21%). The number for supplementary teachers in 1913-14 was 13,367 (8·1%); in 1919-20 the number was 13,424 (8·2%); in 1920-21 the number was 13,541 (8·2%) and in 1921-22 the number was 12,898 (7.8%).

Thus we see the number of certificated teachers was gradually increasing during the period from 1913-22, and the number for uncertificated teachers gradually declining.

The number for supplementary teachers for the years 1919-21 increased and the number again decreased to 7.8% in the year 1921-22.[26]

AVERAGE SALARY OF TEACHERS ON MARCH 31, FOR THE YEARS 1914, 1920, 1921, 1922 AND 1923.

The average salary for certificated men head teachers was £ 177 in 1914, £305 in 1920, £371 in 1921, £391 in 1922 and £410 in 1923.

The average salary for women head teachers was £126 in 1914, £238 in 1920, £300 in 1921, £314 in 1922 and £327 in 1923.

Average salary for certificated men assistant teachers was £129 in 1914, £249 in 1920, £304 in 1921, £305 in 1922 and £310 in 1923.

The average salary for certificated women teachers was £96 in 1914, £189 in 1920, £238 in 1921, £246 in 1922 and £254 in 1923.

The average salary for uncertificated men head teachers was £76 in 1914, £134 in 1918, £178 in 1922, and £206 in 1923. The average salary for uncertificated women head teachers was £69 in 1914, £127 in 1920, £149 in 1921, £156 in 1922 and £163 in 1923.

The average salary for uncertificated assistant men teachers was £68 in 1914, £137 in 1920, £173 in 1921, £174 in 1922 and £182 in 1923.

The average salary for uncertificated assistant women teachers was £57 in 1914, £122 in 1920, £140 in 1921, £144 in 1922 and £148 in 1923.

The average salary for supplementary women teachers was £40 in 1914, £84 in 1920, £93 in 1921, £96 in 1922 and £97 in 1923.

The average salary for practical instruction men teachers is £223 in 1920, £216 in 1921, £289 in 1922 and £312 in 1923. The Average salary for practical instruction women teachers was £179 in 1920, £228 in 1921, £239 in 1922, and £247 in 1923.

The average salary for total certificated teachers was £118 in 1914, £221 in 1920, £275 in 1921, £284 in 1922 and £294 in 1923; and for the total uncertificated teachers it was £58 in 1914, £123 in 1920, £142 in 1921, £146 in 1922 and £151 in 1923.

The average salary for men teachers was £139 in 1914, £260 in 1920, £312 in 1921, £326 in 1922 and £335 in 1923.

The average salary for women teachers was £82 in 1914, £168 in 1920, £207 in 1921, £215 in 1922 and £22s in 1923.

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[26] Report of the Board of Education for the year 1922-23, p. 175.

The average salary for men and women was £97 in 1914, £189 in 1920, £233 in 1921, £241 in 1922 and £250 in 1923.

Thus we notice that the average salary for men teachers was higher than the average salary for women teachers. The average salary for certificated teachers was far more than that of uncertificated teachers. The average salary for all grades of teachers was constantly on the increase.[27]

EDUCATIONAL COSTS

The educational costs increased rapidly. The total costs for elementary schools in England and Wales from 1871 to 1895 was £219,045,134.[28]

During 1904-5 the total expenditure was £18,777,192.[29]

During the year 1913-14 the educational authorities spent £26½ millions on elementary education.

(1) "During the three financial years preceding the war, the total expenditure increased steadily by over £1,000,000 a year.

(2) In 1914-15, the increase was £900,000; for 1915-16 it is estimated at £350,000. The total expenditure is increasing but the rate of increase is diminishing." [30]

During 1925-26 the elementary schools in England and Wales rose to £31,509,606. Thus we see the school costs are increasing rapidly.[31]

CHAPTER V

CURRICULUM

In the twentieth century the scope of curriculum expanded. The principle of individual differences was recognized in planning the courses of study. Cookery, laundry work, house wifery, combined domestic subjects, mixed courses in domestic subjects, dairy work, handicraft, lightwork, and gardening are now among the courses of elementary school curricula. Progress has also been made in the provisional practical advanced instruction. The number of children receiving instruction in handicraft and gardening in England, have risen from 433,533 and 110,711 respectively in 1922-23 to 444,589 and 111,182 in 1923-24.[32]

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[27] Report of the Board of Education, 1922-23, p. 70.

[28] Sadler, M.E. and Edwards, G.W., Public Elementary Education in England and Wales, p. 30.

[29] Report of the Department Mental Committee on Education rates, p. 15.

[30] *Op. cit.*, 1914-15, p. 6.

[31] Whitker, 1929, p. 312.

In 1927 the number of schools making provision for practical instruction increased from 5,503 to 5,810.[33]

The following is the list of courses given in the modern elementary schools in England for 1925 :—

Religious instruction, English, mathematics, geography, history, citizenship, physical exercises and games, music, drawing, physical science, nature study, meedlework and handwork, domestic subjects, handicraft (woodwork, etc.) individual work (according to choice, and intervals and means).

MAINTENANCE ALLOWANCES

The board authorized the local educational authorities to grant maintenance allowances to needy children over 14 years age in order to keep these children in school for further education. During the years 1924-27, 30 authorities granted maintenance allowances not less than £100 a year.[34]

The total expenditure for 1924-25 was £22,714, for 1925-26—£32,364 and for 1926-27--£36,355. On March 31, 1925, the number of awards was 2,000 on March 31, 1926—2,800. March 1927 not available.[34]

SIZE OF CLASSES

In February, 1924, the board issued a circular demanding the abolition of classes with more than 50 pupils on the register and also to reduce to 40 classes for children over 11. On March 31, 1025, 24,972 classes with over 50 pupils were reduced to 21,345. On March 31 the number was reduced to 22,212.[35]

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[32] Report of the Board of Education for 1924-25, p. 83.
[33] Kandel, I. K. Educational Year-book for 1925, p. 113.
[34] *Op. cit.*, 1926-27, p. 15.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

CONCLUSION

Let us now pause and enquire: Is the Forster Act realized?

The answer is, Yes.

The Board or the council schools which were created under the provision of the Forster Act justified their creation by their noble work. We have noticed the keen competition between the voluntary and the board schools in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the board schools made far more rapid progress than the voluntary schools though the latter led the race. It is also interesting to note that the boards schools did not progress at the expense of the voluntary schools. The board schools increased rapidly through the activities of the board members and it is further noticeable from the statistical figures given in the last chapter of the report that the board schools or the council schools as they are called after Balfour's Act made progress at the expense of the Voluntary schools. In the twentieth century we see the voluntary schools population declining in members whereas that of the council schools increasing.

This decrease in the number of the voluntary schools accommodation might be due to rapid increasing costs of education, recent educational movements for improved school instruction, and reorganization of the schools. We have also noticed in the first stage of the elementary schools history the State only made endowments to the voluntary schools in the second stage the state assumed the supervision of the elementary schools instruction and in the third stage committed itself to the control of the voluntary schools. Education now has become the business of the State. We have also noticed all through the report that the Liberal party sponsored the cause of State schools, whereas the Conservative party supported the voluntary schools. The Conservative party whenever it came into power lost no opportunity in helping the voluntary schools, and the Liberal party likewise supported the board or council schools. The last quarter of the nineteenth century was also characterized by religious and political strife between these two rival parties over the voluntary and the board schools.

This strife continued in the first decade of the twentieth century when the Liberal party came into power in 1907 and tried to capture the voluntary schools through several bills but failed. Having failed to capture the voluntary schools through legislation they attempted during the coalition government through other means. In 1921 Mr. Fisher, a Liberal member and President of the Board of Education, attempted to control the voluntary schools through a series of proposals but failed. Having failed in their attempt to capture the voluntary schools they gradually tried to extend the school system so as to make it difficult for the voluntary schools to expand their schools beyond the age of 11.

Whatever might be their attitude toward the voluntary schools the Liberal party did much to improve the elementary school system in England and Wales.

In England two types of elementary schools exist side by side; the council schools and the voluntary schools. It is also to be noticed that the religious strife ceased to exist during the second decade of the twentieth century, though the germs of religious strife still exist and may burst out in the future.

(Concluded)

EDUCATION UNDER AUCKLAND: 1836-42*

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I.

POSTERITY has no soft corners for Lord Auckland for it was his misfortune to " drag the honour of England in the dirt and expose India to the most grievous military disaster and the most shameful humiliation she had ever suffered."[1] Yet it is a fact that Auckland has been more sinned against than sinning. It is generally ignored that Auckland as a loyal pro-consul allowed himself to be used as a cog in the Palmerstonian wheel of anti-Russian diplomacy.[2] But the legend of war-guilt dies hard and his achievements in the field of internal administration have been almost relegated to the dust. Even a contemporary and a colleague, Henry T. Prinsep opined that " he was the author of no great measure to improve the internal administration."[3] Here in this paper a brief sketch of the educational measures of Auckland has been attempted and it will be evident that on the score of educational policy Auckland deserves to be ranked along with Bentinck, Dalhousie and Curzon.

Bentinck's resolution of 7th March, 1835, as is well-known declared that thenceforth the Government was to patronise Western education and that through the medium of English language.[4] The Anglicist officials in their hour of victory lost all balance, interpreted the resolution in their own way and proceeded to apply ruthlessly their own interpretation. This caused a furore in the country and even some officials who were not avowed Orientalists refused to follow suit. In a minute, dated 24th November 1839, Auckland made a dispassionate consideration of the issues raised and tried to solve the problem to the satisfaction of all concerned. This minute has been discussed in the section following. We intend to explain next Auckland's attitude towards vernacular education, mass literacy, medical studies and other cognate problems. We shall also try to show that the interest he envinced in educational matters was not merely conventional or a part of the routine of an administrator's life.

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* Read at the Lahore session of the Indian History Congress, 1940.

[1] Smith : Oxford History of India, p. 672.

[2] Colvin : John Russell Colvin, and Trotter : Auckland (Rulers of India Series).

[3] Cited in Curzon's British Government in India, Vol. II.

[4] Sharp : Selections from Educational Records, Part I (Cal. 1920), pp. 130-31.

II.

AUCKLAND'S MINUTE OF 24TH NOVEMBER, 1839

Bentinck's resolution of 7th March 1835 categorically stated the Government's policy to be in favour of Western learning. The exact words deserve quotation: "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that the funds appropriated to education would be best employed in English education alone." The extreme Anglicists eager to have their 'pound of flesh' took their stand on the word 'alone' and devised measures to divert the funds hitherto enjoyed by the Oriental institutions. All stipends were stopped and special classes in vernacular were closed.[5] Quite naturally the Government's educational policy was watched with misgivings by the people. Though involved in the maze of Russo-Afghan politics from almost the time of his arrival in India Auckland found leisure to consider "these questions with his usual calmness" (Kerr). While touring in Northern India in 1837-38, he formed his opinions about the problem and on 24th November 1839, he issued from Delhi a minute containing his reflections about educational questions and his directions about the future course of action.[6] Though a century intervenes between the date of its issue and to-day the whole Minute is worth perusal. A spirit of compromise and expediency was writ large on the Minute and Auckland appeared more in the role of a statesman than a partisan. He avoided "unprofitable controversy" and "judged it best to allow time and experience to act, with their usual healing and enlightening influence, upon general opinion."[7] As considerations of space forbid us to reproduce this Minute *in extenso* here in this article we shall only sketch Auckland's principal observations and suggestions.

Appropriation of Funds to Oriental Colleges. Auckland interpreted Bentinck's Resolution of 7th March 1835, not as a lawyer but as a mediator. Before taking up the issue of appropriation of funds he frankly stated "that the insufficiency of the Funds assigned by the State for the purposes of public instruction has been amongst the main causes of violent disputes which have taken place upon the education question, and that if the Funds previously appropriated to the cultivation of Oriental Literature had been spared, and other means placed at the disposal of the promoters of English Education, they might have pursued their object aided by the good wishes of all...............Parties wishing to promote the diffusion of knowledge in different forms contended eagerly the one to retain, the other to gain, that sum for the schemes to which they were respectively favourable ; and had fresh sums been at once procurable, no one might have objected to their employment for a full and fair experiment on the new ideas which began to prevail. The inference to which I would point from these facts and observations is that a principle of wise liberality not stinting any object which can be reasonably recommended, but granting a measured and discriminating encouragement to all, is likely to command general acquiescence, and to obliterate, it may be hoped, the recollection of the acrimony which has been so prejudicial to the public weal in the course of past proceedings."[8] With these candid and liberal observations Auckland entered into the question of perpetuity or otherwise of state grants. In the absence of any positive or specific promise he could not uphold the Orientalists' plea of immutability of government grants and admitted the propriety and legality of the diversion of funds from Oriental Colleges to Western education. Nevertheless, he was prepared "to dispose of the question on the principle of a liberal consideration to all wants and claims. I see no advantage to be gained in this case by a close contest for strict constructions, and having taken a review of money estimates and of local wants, I am satisfied that it will be best to abstract nothing from other useful objects, while I see at the same time nothing but good to be derived from the employment of the funds which have been assigned to each Oriental Seminary, exclusively on instruction in, or in connexion with that Seminary."[9] So the grants enjoyed till 1835 by the Oriental Colleges were ordered to be restored. At the same time Auckland was not deaf to the claims of Western education and he made provisions for additional funds which might be required for that purpose. The additional expenditure thus incurred was about

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[5] Kerr: A Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency, 1835-51 (Cal. 1852), Part I, pp. 10-11.

[6] The Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction for 1839-40 contains the Minute along with the enclosures.

[7] Para. 1 of the Minute.

[8] Para. 4 of the Minute.
[9] Para. 5 of the Minute.

Rs. 25,000 only and he was convinced that "the Honourable Court will approve of our having closed these controversies at this limited amount of increased expense." [10]

From the figures of 1836 it has been calculated that the funds at the disposal of the Government for educational purposes at this time amounted to nearly Rs. 4,00,000, In 1840 Auckland added a further grant of nearly Rs. 1,50,000.[11] (A large portion of this expenditure must have been necessitated by the improvements effected in the Medical College and the institution of scholarships.) So Auckland never permitted considerations of "economy" to deter him from his educational projects. Herein lay the secret of his success. He was right when he claimed to have terminated the controversies at an additional expense of Rs. 25,000 only per annum.

In fact it was a policy of *laissez faire* which Auckland inaugurated in educational affairs. Though he was convinced of the superiority of Western learning, as is evident from the pages of the Minute, he was prepared to give reasonable chances to rival methods of education. The measure did not adversely affect Western education "which was to be specially provided for by Government." [12] Yet a few extremists among Anglicists scented evil and Rev. Alexander Duff "took up his parable against any compromise with the absurd old systems of the East." [13] Duff could not tolerate any patronage for a system which in his words taught: False chronology and history, False civil and criminal law, False science, False logic and metaphysics and even False morals and religion. He contributed to the pages of the *Calcutta Christian Observer* a series of open letters addressed to Lord Auckland. Shortly afterwards he published these letters along with a preface and notes.[14] These letters abound with personal attacks on Auckland and uncharitable remarks on the Hindu and Muslim cultures. The gravemen of Duff's charge-sheet really referred to the question of religion and not to that of education, for a missionary as he was he could not divorce religion from education. The two great central points of the Minute were according to him:

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[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Richey : Selections from Educational Records, Part II (Cal. 1922), p. 64 f. n.; Stark : Vernacular Education in Bengal (Cal. 1916), p. 59.

[12] Thomas, F. W. : History and Prospects of British Education in India (Bell, 1891), p. 37.

[13] Trotter : Auckland (Rulers of India Series), p. 24.

[14] Rev. Dr. Duff's Letters to Lord Auckland on the subject of Native Education (Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1841).

"the endowment of Orientalism, including its false religion ; and the total exclusion of true religion from the course of higher instruction in the Literature and Science of Europe." [15] It is obvious that the standpoints of Auckland and Duff were poles asunder and hence no comments are called for here. We shall later on discuss Auckland's attitude towards different religions.

Institution of Scholarships.—Under Bentinck's Resolution stipends had been abolished in all the colleges, with a view to discouraging artificial stimulus to education. Its effects were disastrous in a country ' where scholars were generally poor and where education has always been endowed.' (F.W. Thomas). The Muslim scholars in north India were particularly hurt.[16] Auckland had given his thoughts to this grave situation while touring in Northern India in 1837-38 and in a Minute on Delhi, dated Karnul, the 7th March 1838 [17] he recorded his impressions about the Delhi Colleges. He threw hints that he was thinking of giving pecuniary aids " for a limited time after a fair and very strict competition in place of the former objectionable system of indiscriminate alimentary allowances." [16] After a year and a half we find this idea had taken the shape of a concrete proposal in the Minute of 24th November 1839.[19] In that he directed the Committee of Public Instruction " to consider and report with all possible expedition on the merits of a scheme for assigning a certain number of scholarships to all our higher Seminaries—those in the English and Oriental Colleges being in an equal ratio. In consequence of the very general poverty of the students I would fix the ratio on a high scale, say at ¼th of the number of pupils, if that number should afford proof of peculiar capacity and industry." He also indicated that these scholarships should be tenable for four years and should be forfeited if the holders did not show satisfactory progress at each yearly examination. The Committee very quickly worked out a scheme on the lines indicated and put it into operation. Competitive tests formed the soul of this system.[19A] The questions and some of the answer-papers were published in the yearly reports of the Committee. Unlike the old stipendiary system Auckland's scholarship system did not feed drones and yet met the peculiar needs of India. It entailed an yearly expenditure of Rs. 52,000 which the Governor-General sanctioned with pleasure as he considered it " absolutely essential to the whole scheme of improvement".[20] The system was extended to all the Presidencies.

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[15] Duff's Letters, Preface, p. vi.

[16] Kerr : Review, Part I, Chapter III, Sec. III.

[17] This Minute has been recently edited by Dr. S. N. Sen, Keeper, Imperial Records. See Calcutta Review, March 1940.

[18] Para. 17 of the above Karnul Minute.

[19] Paras. 33 and 34.

[19A] This competitive examination system was later on utilised for recruitment into Government service. See my paper, " First Public Service Examinations " contributed to the Calcutta Session of the Indian History Congress.

It is to be noted that even Kaye who in his *History of the War in Afghanistan* (*1851*) put the blame for the Afghan War on the shoulders of Auckland elsewhere[21] paid him high tributes for this scholarship system. The system, according to Kaye, gave a real fillip to the formation of intellect as distinct from mere cram which had been recognised to be a sure passport to the employment in foreign firms or Company's service.[22]

Auckland discussed at great length the question of vernacular instruction. This is dealt with in the section following. Besides he touched upon various other topics and made interesting suggestions. He liked to have the Zilla schools as feeders for the colleges,[23] recommended the opening of normal training course in the colleges,[24] and pleaded for better inspection and supervision of Government institutions.[25] Duff however considered the Minute to be "the product of a superficial amateur educationist."[26]

III

VERNACULAR INSTRUCTION AND MASS LITERACY

Ever since the termination of the Anglicist-Orientalist controversy in 1835 a new school of educationists had been in prominence. They championed the cause of vernacular and advocated the vernacular to be the medium of instruction. During Bentinck's governor-generalship an enquiry into the state of rural indigenous schools had been set up and Adam, a European familiar with the native life and manners, had been entrusted with the work. Adam also urged the patronage of rural schools and vernacular instruction. This would have served the cause of mass education. Auckland however refused to accept Adam's plan.[27] The educational apparatus of the Government was not in Auckland's view suited for such a mass literacy drive. The lack of vernacular class-books also weighed heavily on his mind[28] and until a series of suitable text-books on different subjects had been published Auckland would not deviate from the prevailing system affording instruction both through English and Vernacular, so far as Bengal was concerned. He was however prepared to allow the experiments in Vernacular instruction as were being tried in Bombay.[29] His mind was in fact open to conviction and for the time being in Bengal he decided to carry on the work of "the formation and efficient direction of Upper Institutions."[30]

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[20] Kerr : Review, Part I, Ch. III, Sec. III.
[21] Kaye : Administration of the East India Company. (London, 1858.)
[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 600-2.
[23] Para. 32.
[24] Para. 35.
[25] Para. 37.
[26] Duff's Letters, Preface, p. iii.

Theory of Filtration. The real reason for Auckland's opposition to Vernacularists was however his belief in the theory of filtration, a doctrine held among others by Sir Charles Trevelyan. This school of thought believed that as funds at the disposal of the Committee of Public Instruction would not permit any nation-wide undertaking their duty consisted in giving a sound Western education to those who could afford to have it.[31] It was thought that enlightenment would thus filter down from above dissolving in the process the ignorance and illiteracy of the masses. Little did they realise that without organised state efforts the theory was doomed to failure, specially when for most of those who ran to the English schools education was associated with employment and not with national service.

Auckland's attitude to Vernaculars. Though Auckland fell a prey to the doctrine of filtration in fairness to him we must say that he was not entirely opposed to the claims of Vernaculars. In the syllabus of the scholarship examinations Vernacular was included.[32] In 1840 he offered to the students of Hindu and Hooghly Colleges two prizes, a gold and a silver watch, for the best translations into Bengali of passages from English classics. Bacon's Essay on Truth was set for this purpose.[33] It was also during Auckland's administration that a Vernacular department was opened in the Medical College at Calcutta.[34]

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[27] Para. 6.
[28] Para. 28.
[29] Paras. 6 and 38.
[30] Para. 6.
[31] Para. 9.
[32] Stark : Vernacular Education, p. 58.

IV

AUCKLAND AND WESTERN EDUCATION

Auckland's restoration of funds to Oriental education raises the question of his attitude towards Western education. Duff accused him of divided loyalty and alleged that Auckland proposed "to unite the living with the dead—to divide the empire of education equally between the devotees of antiquated error and the propagators of acknowledged truth."[35] The tone of the Minute however does not support such an accusation. He was aware "of the radical errors and deficiencies of the Oriental system"[36] as also of "the practical value of superior English acquirements."[37] His opposition to Adam and Vernacularists also does not bear out the truth of Duff's remarks. His principal aim was "to communicate through the means of the English language a complete Education in European Literature, Philosophy and Science to the greatest number of students who may be found ready to accept it at our hands, and for whose instruction our funds will admit our providing."[38] Here was a true 19th century Whig who believed in utilitarianism and *laissez faire.* He would not allow his personal predilections to mould his public policy. It is to be noted that the restoration of funds to Oriental Colleges did not affect the disbursements for Western education. He was perhaps certain that in spite of the patronage provided to Oriental education the Occidental learning was destined to win. In fact " he laid so much stress on English education that he kept an English school at Barrackpore at his own expense." [39]

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[33] Report of the General Committee for 1839-40, pp. 43-4; Kerr : Review, Part II, pp. 103-4.

[34] Kerr : Review, Part II, pp. 215-6.

[35] Duff's Letters, p. 7.

[36] Para. 10.

[37] Para. 16.

[38] Para. 13.

[39] Mittra, P. C. : Biographical Sketch of David Hare (Cal. 1877), p. 37.

The Barrackpore School. Auckland opened this school on March 6, 1837, for the education of boys of all castes. All the expenses were borne by him. The construction of the building cost him Rs. 3,500. Not only was the instruction given free, but even books and stationery were provided free of cost. He intended to attract boys of poorer classes and hence these facilities were given. He even offered remuneration to those boys of higher forms who would be able to coach the boys of lower forms. He also promised to send the best boys of the school to Hindu College or Medical College at Calcutta.[40] The best product of Auckland's school was Bholanath Bose who was later on educated at Medical College, Calcutta and at London where he took the M. D. degree. We shall speak of him again in connection with Medical College.

V.

THE MEDICAL COLLEGE

The years of Auckland's governor-generalship were momentous for the Medical College of Calcutta which had been opened by his predecessor, Bentinck, in March 1835. Its facilities for clinical teaching were not very satisfactory. The students had to visit the General Hospital, the Native Hospital, the Company's Dispensary and the Eye Infirmary for this purpose. It was soon apparent that the students did not evince much interest in attending these Hospitals, probably because they were situated at a distance from the College. Moreover the patients of the General Hospital were Europeans "whose maladies differed from those of the native constitution." It was to remedy these defects that a hospital was opened within the College compound in April 1838, the third year of Auckland's rule.[41]

From almost the start the Medical College provided a rather high standard of studies. In order to cater to the needs of the Army to which was attached a class of subordinate medical officers the necessity of opening a junior course had been felt. A voluminous correspondence passed on the subject between the College Council and the Committee of Public Instruction, with special reference to the proposal of imparting the lessons in the junior course in Vernacular (Hindusthani). In 1839 the Government sanctioned the scheme and in October of the same year the Vernacular Department was opened with 50 stipendiary students who were chiefly Muhammadans.[42]

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[40] Banerji, B. N. : "Sambad-Patre Sekaler Katha." (A collection of press cuttings from old Bengali papers), Vol. II, p. 55; Sanyal, R. G. : Reminiscences and Anecdotes of some Geat Men of India (Cal. 1894), p. 63.

[41] Kerr : Review, Part II, pp. 210-11.

The system of stipends as distinguished from the scholarships persisted for a long time in Medical College. The reasons for this were, "the long period of study required, and the necessity for giving extraordinary encouragement to the cultivation of studies to which the prejudices of the Hindus are strongly opposed." Auckland in introducing his scheme of scholarships, referred to in a previous section, expressed the desire that the system should eventually be extended to Medical College in supersession of fixed stipends.[43] But for a long time to come the system of fixed stipends had to be continued as otherwise the Indian students could not be weaned from their superstitions.[44]

Scheme of sending students to Britain. Talks of sending the most promising students of Medical College to England were in the air from the time of its inception. In 1838, the third year of Auckland's rule considerable correspondence took place between the Committee and the Government. The Government had to turn down the proposal on the ground of expense.[45] Auckland's personal interest in the scheme however never diminished. For when in 1845, three years after his departure from India, four promising students went to England[46] Auckland (then First Lord of the Admiralty) kept a keen watch on the progress of these students. Three of these including Bholanath Bose took the M. D. degree of London University. Auckland was particularly interested in Bholanath, an alumnus of his Barrackpore School. On the eve of his return Bholanath received the following kind letter[47] from his distinguished patron and friend—

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[42] Kerr : Review, Part II, pp. 213-6.

[43] Para. 34 of the Minute of 24th November, 1839.

[44] Kerr : Review, Part II, pp. 244-5.

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 231-2.

[46] Dwarkanath Tagore revived the scheme by offering to bear the expenses of two medical students in England. Professor Goodeve of Medical College offered to bear the expenses of a third student. Subsequently subscription was raised to defray the expenses of a fourth. Of this sum half was subscribed by Nawab Ferdun Jah of Murshidabad, then a lad of 15 only.

[47] Sanyal : Great Men of India, pp. 72-4.

Admiralty,
January 13th 1848.

My dear Bholanath,

I will not allow you to leave England without writting a few lines to you to say that I wish you well. I would add too that you have given very great satisfaction to me and to your other friends, by the earnestness with which you have pursued your studies, and by the distinctions which have attended your success in them.

I should like you to take away with you some token of remembrance from me, and I will beg you to purchase one that may be agreeable to you with the enclosed draft.

Yours most truly, etc.,
Auckland.

Along with some influential persons like C. H. Cameron Auckland made strong efforts to get Bholanath admitted into the Covenanted Medical Service of India but failed due to the opposition of the Court of Directors.

VI.

The facts stated above speak for themselves and we do not like to add much by way of criticism. It is clear that Auckland's interest in Indian education was deep and personal. Yet the statesman in him never allowed his personal predilections to gain an upperhand. His educational policy was comprehensive in its range[48] and far-reaching in its effects. He was a believer in gradual change and not in revolution. His outlook was distinctly modern and much to to the disgust of Duff he refused to include the Christian scriptures in the syllabus of studies for English Colleges. As the secular head of a country where numerous religions prevailed he would have nothing to do with any religion. In April 1840 he severed the old connection between the Company's Government and the creeds of India. Thenceforth no employee of the Company was to attend the popular festivals in official capacity while the management of the temple-revenues was handed over to the priests.[49] Auckland's educational policy was in short a true example of Whig liberalism of mid-nineteenth century.[50]

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[48] Even the question of education of the minor land-holders did not escape his notice, See B. N. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

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[49] Trotter : Auckland, p. 25.

[50] The writer of this paper is indebted to Mr. Anathnath Basu, M.A. (Lond.), Head of the Teachers' Training Department, and Dr. Niharranjan Ray, Librarian, University of Calcutta. The former helped him with a few valuable suggestions and the latter procured for him a few rare books.

MASS EDUCATION IN INDIA

AMALESH GHOSE, M.A., B.T.

I

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE EVOLUTION OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

TO start with the impression that there had never been a System of Education in India before the advent of Englishmen, will amount to ignoring the facts unearthed from the dark days of the distant past. A System of Education which was scientifically planned for the education of the children of India and which not only conformed to the Ideals of her people in the days of yore, but also greatly contributed to the furtherance of knowledge and learning of her people, really existed in India. Those who wanted to specialise in any branch of learning could go up to the respective Seats of knowledge whose fame spread beyond the territorial boundaries. Facilities were not wanting for the acquirement of any form of knowledge in any subject which were indigenous to India and the System worked perfectly well and the foundations of knowledge, it is said, used to be truly laid. The essentials of that system were Discipline of the mind and the body; a regard for authority and religious training:

> " At present it is wonderful to see how entirely they resign themselves to precedent; Custom is the strongest Law to them. Following implicitly seems to be instinctive with them in small things, as well as great. The path which the first passenger has ever marked over the soft soil, is trodden so undeviatingly in all its curves, by every succeeding traveller, that when it is perfectly beaten, it is still only the width of a single track "—*Charles Grant.*

This process of Education continued down to the time when we hear of the Hindus going to the 'pathsala' and the 'tols' for receiving their education and the Muhammedans attending the 'muktabs' to acquire a knowledge of the three R's. Religious education used to be the part and parcel of the training in these institutions. In this way, both the communities moved on in the particular spheres of their education. Such educational institutions existed in great numbers and Mr. W. Adam, after his survey of education in the middle of the 19th century (1835-38), estimated that there were at least one hundred thousand of them in the then province of Bengal and said that any system or Policy in regard to their organisation and expansion seemed to have been lacking and the instruction provided was necessarily of an inferior type, amounting perhaps to incompetency. When the administration of the country changed hands and passed on from the E.I.Co. to the British Crown, the state of affairs showed signs of improvement. Documentary evidence of the existence of the schools and attempts made at their organisation and expansion are available since that period.

The embryo of a system of Education may have been laid long before the time when the first signs of the attempts at placing it on a sound basis made its appearance before the Indian Mutiny with the momentous Despatch of Sir Charles Wood of 18th July, 1854. The earlier stages of the growth of the System of Education are characterised by conflicts, of opinion, of Policy and of the Medium of Instruction to be adopted. The treatise of Charles Grant of the year 1792 on the subject, made elaborate observations on the benefits of educating the Indians and advocated the introduction of English education as being the best suited for the purpose. At the same time he observed that he was opposed to its introduction on the ground that, in the long run, it may become a 'menace' to Government. He said—

> "the people would rise in the scale of human beings; and as they found their character, their state and their comforts improved, they would prize more highly, the security and the happiness of a well-ordered society."
>
> "If the English language, if English opinions and improvements are introduced in our Asiatic possessions, into Bengal, for instance; if together with these changes many Englishmen colonise there, will not the people learn to desire—English liberty and the English Form of Government, a share in the legislation of their own country and Commissions

> in the Army maintained in that country ? Will not the Army thence, become in time, wholly provincial, officered by the Natives of India, without attachment to the sovereign state ? Will not the people at length come to think it a hardship to be a subject and pay tribute to a foreign country ? And finally, will they not cast off that subjugation and assert their independence ? "

Some portions of the prophesy or rather, the apprehensions may have come true. The others may follow. His proposal therefore, conflicting as it was in its exposition, remained shelved for the time-being.

The Minute of Lord Minto on Education, reviewed the existing state of things and it recommended that education was the only remedy for the prevailing Evils of Ignorance ; of Obstacle to good Government and of Proneness to Crime, which was so prevalent in the people of the country at that time. Then the Clause in an Act of the Parliament (53 Sec. 43 George III, 1813) made it obligatory for the provision of a lac of Rupees, a year, for the cause of Education :—

> " A sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned Natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of knowledge of the Sciences among the inhabitants of British Indian territories."

This sum, which was thus made available, used to be spent on the study of Oriental Classics like Sanskrit and Arabic, and for the work of the translation into or from these languages. Mass education was not dealt with so far.

The period from 1765 to 1815 was characterised by " inaction," although sporadic attempts were made to improve the existing state of things. The Calcutta Madrasah was opened in the year 1781 by Warren Hastings as a result of a deputation of Muhammedans which waited on him to present their grievances. Jonathan Duncan, the Resident of Benares, who had the full sympathy of Lord Cornwallis opened the Benares Sanskrit College in 1792. In 1799, Marsden and Ward the two Missionaries came to India and joined Rev. Carey who was engaged in educational work at Serampore and they continued to render material help in his work. Serampore gradually became the centre of educational activities of the Missionaries. One group of the Missionaries working in India favoured English Education and the other opposed it and took up the cause of the Vernaculars. They were instrumental in the production and the publication of a series of books in the Vernacular. They had a Printing Press to push through their scheme of work.

Lord Moira's Despatch on Education of October 2, 1815, expressed some concern of his Government over this subject. It said that the work of the "humble but valuable" school-master had not been duly recognised and advocated the recruitment of better type of persons with some education to fill these important positions in the villages. The result of this was that Parliament sanctioned the appropriation of an annual sum of £10,000 to carry out the scheme. Obstacles, however were placed in the way of the fruition of the scheme by those who wanted to keep up ignorance longer in the land. Besides, the sum granted was too little to enable it to be launched on a wider scale.

This was followed by two conflicting activities manifesting themselves side by side. The semi-rationalists headed by Raja Rammohan Roy and Mr. David Hare, led to the opening of the Vidyalaya or Anglo-Indian College at Calcutta in 1816. The institution was later developed into the Presidency College in 1855. This may really be looked upon as the father of English Schools in Bengal, at least. In 1818, Babu Joynarain Ghosal opened an English School at Benares, which was at that time, a centre of orthodoxy and the Seat of Oriental Learning. That institution still bears Joynarain's name and is managed by the Missionaries.

Those Missionaries who had taken up the cause of the Vernaculars for the purpose of spreading knowledge amongst the Masses but taught the other subjects through the Medium of English, started the translation of standard English authors into Bengali and printed those books from their Press at Serampore so as to effectively carrying out their plan of educating the Masses, in course of time. This is really the starting point of the present system of English Education. It underwent a gradual process of transformation in the course of its growth and it was later officially organised into a coherent group.

The aims and objects of the Calcutta School Book Society which was established in 1817 was "to promote the moral and intellectual knowledge" of the people. Raja Pearymohan Sircar was one of the prominent members of this society and they distributed more than a million pamphlets throughout the country for gaining their ends. This Society used to receive a Grant from the Government, and besides distributing the pamphlets, they maintained some schools and opened Classes for the training of teachers for those institutions. In them, we find the germ of the Normal Schools and the Guru Training schools.

The Hindu College at Poona was started in 1821, and the Bombay Educational Society which was formed there received grant from the Government. At a later date, this Society broke up into two sections—one for the education of the Indo-European children and the other taking the charge of the education of the Natives. A Committee of Public Instruction was formed in Calcutta in the year 1823, and about this time, Prof. H. H. Wilson suggested the opening of a Sanskrit College in Calcutta. It was established in the following year, 1824, although the Anglicists headed by Raja Rammohan Roy vehemently opposed the proposal on the plea that it would be a retrograde step. The struggle between the Anglicists and the Orientalists continued though they agreed on the vital point that the spreading of the Vernacular literature should be the ultimate object to which all their efforts should be directed because in that only the Masses could be educated.

The Despatch of the Court of Directors of 1824 observed that Oriental Learning was useless for the education of the Indians and asked for the suggestion of one which would be more useful. Thomas Munro from Madras in 1826, Mount Stuart Elphinstone from Bombay in 1825 and J. Thomason from the N.W. Frontier Provinces, had also adversely criticised Oriental Learning and had suggested that English education would be the best suited for the purpose. In the later Despatch of 1830, the Board of Directors favoured English Education and the Elphinstone College was started in the same year at Bombay. Government granted a sum of Rs. 2 lacs and the people subscribed a like amount towards the expenses of founding the college.

At the time of renewing the Charter of the East India Company in 1833, Parliament laid down a condition that the promotion of education in India should be one of the main duties of the Company.

The previous Despatch of the Board of Directors, emphasised on religous neutrality. Those members of the Board who dissented from the main Despatch had fore-shadowed the danger of printing as a means of propagating Ideas by the people of India.

The epoch-making Minute of (Lord) Macaulay, the then Law Member of the Governor-General's Council which followed this in February, 1835, strongly supported English Education. The Resolution, dated 3rd March, 1835 of Lord William Bentinck, endorsed the views " that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of English Literature and Science among the Natives of India," and directed that all the Funds appropriated for the purpose of education, would be best employed on English education alone. The Resolution of Lord Auckland of 1839 on the same subject accepted the principle underlying the scheme and the policy contained in Lord Macaulay's Minute. The " *filtration theory* " of educating the Masses by giving English education to the well-to-do and the higher classes in society, who would in their turn convey the essentials of the newly initiated policy, was thus accepted by the Government.

With this, the long-drawn controversy between the Orientalists and the Anglicists, was set at rest, in favour of the latter. The result was that English Schools began to multiply and continued to function side by side with the existing Vernacular Schools. Freedom of the Press and the substitution of the Vernacular for Persian as a Court Language in 1837 gave added stimulus to the movement of enriching the Vernacular.

Lord Macaulay's Minute and Lord William Bentinck's Resoution did not have a smooth sailing. In his Minute, dated the 20th May, 1835, Mr. H. T. Princep, one of the members remarked :

> "I fear, I cannot expect that the question will now be reopened. I record this Minute therefore as a protest against the continuance of measures founded on the principle of the Resolution of 7th March and as a declaration of the extremely mischievous and injurious tendency which I believe, to be inherent in them. The true principle in my opinion is that of leaving the natives to choose their own courses of education and to encourage all equally on the part of Government, making it our business to give them direction to true science and good taste in literature, which the superior light of Europe ought to enable us to

bestow. Any deviation from this principle of free choice and equal encouragement, can only do mischief to the cause by exciting the feeling of distrust, and perhaps, irritation."

Mr. W. Adam made an enquiry into the state of Elementary Education, during the years 1835-38. He submitted a Report at the end of his Mission, the essence of which was that although there existed one hundred thousand Primary Schools in the province of Bengal, as it then was, hardly 7% of the children of school-going age, were receiving some sort of education and the rest were wholly uncared for. The condition of the indigenous schools in which they were being educated and their curriculum were far from satisfactory. In the Resolution of 1839, Lord Auckland ordered that Primary education should be carried on with the help of additional Grants and that Vernacular education in all the stages, should be met out of the normal appropriation, as he felt that it was gradually being neglected by the majority. Mr. Adam's proposal, however, for the expansion of Primary Education did not receive the support of the authorities concerned.

A general Committee of Public Instruction had been established in Calcutta in 1823; and another in Madras in 1826. They made proposals and put forward recommendations for the improvement and expansion of education in all the branches. A Board of Education was constituted in Bombay in 1840, soon after the Reports from the District Collectors were received to the effect that only 1,500 schools with an enrolment of 31,000 pupils existed in that presidency The Board took over most of the activities of the Bombay Education Society, which only continued their function of the expansion of Primary education with the help of the Grant previously sanctioned by Elphinstone's Government.

The Missionaries who were working in the field and had started a number of Primary Schools in and around Calcutta, Chinsura, Khulna, Patna, Shamnagar, Serampore, Burdwan, Bombay, etc., during the early stages (1814-23) and had been almost relegated to an inferior position, due to the Resolutions of Lord William Bentinck and Lord Auckland, again made their appearance in the field of education. They had explored a new avenue of employing their energies and their resources, by upholding the cause of *Female education.* In the Presidency Towns of Bengal, Madras and Bembay, they had started their movement of educating the Females. As early as 1824, Lady Amherst agreed to become the Patroness of a Society formed in Calcutta for spreading Female education in that city. Thus they trudged along their—efforts, with not so very encouraging results in the beginning. Mr. J. E. Drinkwater Bethune established a girl's school in Calcutta in 1849, and this may be regarded as a land-mark in the history of Female education in India. In the following year, the Council of Education of Calcutta was entrusted with the work of the supervision and control of Female Education.

In 1845, Government took the initiative to start primary schools as an experimental measure. One hundred and one Primary Schools, which were known as the "*Hardinge Schools*" were started and were placed under the control of the Board of Revenue. These schools were located in the districts of Bengal, Bihar and Cuttack and provisions were made to give instructions in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and Geography and in the history of India and Bengal. These schools, however, were doomed to failure and owing to the unfavourable report of the Council of Education, they were discontinued.

A Parliamentary enquiry was held into the condition of India by the year 1853 and the result of this enquiry formed the basis of that epoch-making Despatch of Sir Charles Wood, the then President of the Board of Control, dated 18th July, 1854. It is regarded as the "*Magna Charta*" of Indian Education. The progress of education in India had been up to this time haphazard due to a lack of systematic organisation for the expansion of Mass Education. For about 20 years. the E. I. Co., had followed the " filtration theory " of educating the Masses through the intelligentia. This Despatch imposed on the authorities the responsibility of evolving a properly articulated System of Education from the Primary up to the University stage. The transference of Government from the E. I. Co., to the British Crown in 1858, after the Mutiny, did not materially affect the subject-matter of the Despatch, so far as Education was concerned, as it was confirmed by the Secretary of State in 1859, observing that further steps should be taken for the furtherance of Primary Education. It authorised the Government of India to levy a land-tax if that was thought necessary for gaining that end. Thus it went further than the Despatch.

II

EVOLUTION OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION (II)

The year 1857 is remarkable in the history of Education of India. It was in this year that the three Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were established. The provincial departments of Education were organised, and from this date onwards, there was a gradual growth of schools and colleges in the country. The Universities were affiliating and examining institutions and the successful candidates used to be absorbed in the services of the State. Owing to this necessity of supplying intelligent and educated youngmen required for the services, Secondary Education received more attention than the other branches.

The Despatch of 1854 surveyed the existing position of the entire system of education and the comprehensiveness of the details covered by it, reveal mastery over the whole problem. It laid emphasis on the need of Vernacular Education and advised the encouragement of the study of the Vernaculars as being the only means of educating the Masses. It recommended the introduction of a system of Grant-in-aid for the schools and the Colleges, besides the feasibility of the opening of some by the State to serve as Models. It encouraged the granting of scholarships; of subsidising the attempts for the promotion of Female education and it insisted on religious neutrality as a State Policy. It looked forward to the time when the schools and the colleges would be transferred from State-management to the charge of private and local bodies. It also suggested that Educational Rates may be levied, if necessary. Some provinces levied this tax but the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis, in Bengal, was not flexible enough for the purpose of getting it imposed in that province. Mr. James Wilson was deputed by the Government of India to make an enquiry into the question and his recommendations that such Rates may be levied in the Permanently Settled areas also, was not looked upon with much favour by the Government of Bengal. The Despatch of the Duke of Argyll, dated May 12, 1870 concurred with the Governor-General's view approving Mr. Wilson's recommendations in spite of the adverse opinion of the provincial Government. The Report of the Famine Commission was published in 1875, and the result was that the land-rate question of Bengal, for the furtherance of Education, which was far proceeded with in the meantime, was abandoned. In 1871, the provincial Governments were permitted to administer their own departments of Education (Public Instruction) with fixed assignments from the Revenues of the Central Government. They, however, did not withhold their interest and did not refrain from giving further grants when necessary.

A commission presided over by Dr. W. W. Hunter was appointed in 1882 to enquire into the working of the programme of 1854 and to make general recommendations on the possible channels of improvement of Primary and Secondary Education. The Hunter Commission endorsed the Policy of 1854 and emphasised on intensive work. It recommended that Primary Education should be that part of the whole System of Education which would possess an exclusive claim on the local Funds and the Provincial Revenues, should be ear-marked for the purpose. It recommended that Government must make provisions for the education of all with a view to liquidating illiteracy. In the sphere of Secondary and Higher education, it laid stress on the advisability of taking people into greater confidence in the matter of the maintenance of institutions and advocated the gradual transfer of control and management to private and local bodies. The Government Resolution of 1884 generally approved the findings and the recommendations of the Commission.

The Municipal and the Local Government Acts of 1883-85, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, brought into existence Local Bodies with powers to open, maintain and manage the Primary Schools with the help of Grand-in-aid from the Government. The salient feature of the provisions was the encouragement of private enterprise. The result of these efforts was that there was tremendous development in the higher branches of English education. The courses of Instruction of both the Lower and Upper Primary Schools were made more useful and were different in the different provinces. *Payment by results* introduced at the instance of the Government of Bengal during the seventies was the guiding principle in the expansion of Primary Education, till 1905, when it was discontinued as a State Policy. The Provincial Governments used to set apart funds, specially for the purpose of Primary Education. By this time all the provinces had Primary Schools maintained by the State (by 1892). These State Schools were usually started in the backward areas of the country.

The Government Resolution of March 11, 1904, following Mr. Cotton's Review of the Method of Organisation, Tendencies and the

Results of Examinations, and the Progress of Education in India, and a Conference of the Heads of the Provincial Departments of Public Instruction, presided over by Lord Curzon himself, laid down,—

> "The government of India fully accept the proposition that the active extension of Primary Education, is one of the most important duties of the State on very substantial reasons, arising out of demands of modern society, absorption of the Ideas of the West and on the ground of good Government of the country. * * * * Primary Education was to have a predominant claim on the funds of district and local bodies (District and Local Boards)."

In the year 1900, the Secretary of State drew attention of the Government of India to the necessity of Government control, guidance and assistance in the field of higher education. Lord Curzon, the Governor-General, summoned an Educational Conference of the Heads of provincial departments of Education and appointed a Commission in 1902, which is known as the University Reforms Commission. The findings of this body are incorporated in the Indian Educational Policy—that part which refers to the field of Primary Education, has been embodied in the preceding paragraph—and in the Indian Universities Act of 1904. The Resolution acknowledged the previous policy and it insisted on the maintenance of schools and colleges by the Provincial Governments to serve as models, so as to uphold the tradition of a high standard of teaching and education. It pointed out the necessity of making provision for the training of the teachers of Secondary and Primary schools. It insisted on the regular inspection and general supervision of the Public educational institutions. It admitted that Primary Education had not received sufficient attention and recommended that Primary Education should have a leading claim on the funds of Local Bodies and it recommended that the Course of studies should be so changed as to have an "agricultural bias".

As the result of the declaration of this policy, the Universities were re-modelled. The courses of studies were revised and the Inspectorate was strengthened. A new department was created and was attached to the Home Department of the Government of India which was subsequently transferred in 1910 and merged in the newly created Department of Education, Health and Lands. The Bureau of Education was subsequently developed.

The Government of India now tried to accelerate the progress of Primary Education. In 1904, the Imperial Grant amounted to Rs. 40 lacs. In 1905, this was increased by Rs. 35 lacs, as the result of a Resolution of 1904 but a greater part of this amount used to be spent for education other than the Primary.

On the 9th March, 1910, Mr. Gokhale moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council requesting the Government to make a beginning in the direction of making Primary Education free and compulsory, but withdrew it on being assured by the Government that the matter would be looked into by them.

As no definite proposals came out of his Resolution of 1910, Mr. Gokhale introduced a Bill on March 16, 1911, in the Imperial Legislature, on the lines of the Education Act of 1870 of England, to make Compulsory Primary Education permissive—the cost of which, the Local Bodies and the Provincial Governments were to share. It was officially opposed on the ground of the absence of popular desire, the reluctance of the Provincial Governments to share the burden and the hostility of non-Official opinion. But the Government at the same time suggested that the Provincial Councils would be the better fields for giving effect to the measures embodied in Mr. Gokhale's Bill which was defeated by a majority of votes.

At the Coronation Durbar of 1911, the Government of India, in accordance with the wishes of His Majesty the King-Emperor, announced a grant of Rs. 50 lacs annually for the expansion of Primary Education. In January, 1912, in reply to the Address presented by the University of Calcutta, His Majesty declared that he wanted "to see a net-work of schools and colleges from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in Industries, Agriculture and in all the other vocations of life."

In the Resolution of February 12, 1913, on education, the Government of India, offered financial help to the Provincial Governments when their funds permitted. This Resolution dwelt on the whole field of education and indicated the weak points where improvements could be effected. The outcome of the Resolution was that, by the year 1917, all private Primary schools in most of the provinces, became Board schools, or Union schools and by that time, a little less than one-third of the boys of school-going age was receiving instruction in these Primary schools.

This period synchronised with the set-back of the Great War which necessitated the holding up of the proposals of 1913. But the Government of India expressed their willingness to devolve a greater amount of responsibility to the Indians, and pointed out whenever they got an opportunity to do so that the existing system of Secondary Education was not conducive to the requirements of the people of the present age.

Up to this time and generally before the inauguration of the Reforms, the Government of India, considered themselves responsible for the problems affecting the question of the education of the intelligentia and the Masses of India. The periodical appointment of Commissions to review the progress of education made, since the preceding one, used generally to be followed by a statement of Policy issued through the Circulars. Between 1904 and 1920, in their Circulars, the Government of India dwelt on subjects as varied as the improvement of the Primary & Vernacular Education ; the abolition of Fees in the Primary schools ; the training of the teachers of the Secondary and the Primary schools ; the improvement of Secondary Education, the education of the Muhammadans ; the education of the girls and women ; the education of Factory labour ; text-book Committees ; educational literature ; the Boy Scout movement, etc. In all these Circulars, they laid particular stress on the necessity of a definite Policy for the development of Vernacular Education.

With a view to bringing about a wholesome change by improving the present system, specially in the higher stages, the Calcutta University Commission which was presided over by Sir Michael Sadler was appointed in 1917 to enquire into the prevailing System and to make recommendations.

In their Report, the Sadler Commission deplored the appalling state of instruction which was ascribed mainly to the foreign Medium of Instruction. It recommended that there should be a Directing and Advisory staff in every province for the co-ordination of the different branches and for improvement. It advised on the opening of the Post-Graduate Courses for Research on subjects bearing upon Indian Culture, History, Economics, Languages and on the practical Sciences. It recommended the formation of Unitary teaching Universities and Committees to look after the finance and the progress of the different branches of University Education.

The Government of India accepted the recommendations of the Sadler Commission in a Resolution of 1920. The findings of the Commission greatly contributed to the development of Secondary and University Education all over India. Some unitary teaching and affiliating Universities were created at Benares, Lucknow, Aligarh, Nagpur, etc. In Bengal, the University of Dacca was founded as a teaching and residential University. Allahabad University was temporarily divided into the internal and external sections till the Agra University was founded.

The Reforms proposals were taking shape in the meantime and the provincial Governments realised that unless a very rapid progress was made in overcoming the evils of illiteracy in the Masses of India, they could not be expected to exercise the rights of citizenship to their best advantage. The urgency of Universal Primary Education was keenly felt by the provincial Governments and they almost hurried to enact measures which will empower the Local Bodies to introduce (Compulsory) Primary Education in their areas. The Acts are not uniform in their provisions in all the provinces and were meant for meeting the varied demands of special areas and of their peculiar circumstances.

With the introduction of the Reforms constitution, Education became a transferred nation-building subject and was passed on to the control of the Ministers, responsible to the Legislature. Government of India's Department of Education had now very limited functions and the Office of the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India was considered superfluous. The functions of the department dwindled in importance with the progress of the working of the Reforms constitution and only the task of the compilation of the Annual Abstract of the Progress of Education in India and the Quinquennial Report was left for the Bureau of Education and the Office to perform. "A Review of Education in India in 1886" was the first General Report compiled by Sir Alfred Croft, the D.P.I. of Bengal, at the request of the Government of India and this developed into the Quinquennial Report. The Central Advisory Board of Education was abolished in 1923 as a measure of economy and the Bureau of Education was abolished earlier.

During this period, therefore, Central control did not exist. Besides the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras these Universities were at work during this period. Benares Hindu University was founded in 1915. The University of the Punjab was established in 1882 ; the Allahabad University was founded in 1887 ; the University at Patna was established in 1917 ; the Dacca University was founded in 1920 ; of Lucknow in 1920 ; of Rangoon in 1920 ; the Muslim University at Aligarh in 1920 before the Reforms were inaugurated in the country. The University of Delhi was created in 1922 ; of Nagpur in 1923 ; of Agra in 1927 ; the Andhra in 1927 and the Annamalai in 1927 followed in quick succession after the Reforms. Besides, the Governments of Mysore and of Hyderabad had established their own Universities and the Government of Travancore have recently got a University established in that State. The Women's University at Poona founded by Prof. Karve was also carrying on the work. During the non-co-operation days, a number of national Universities came into existence in the different provincial towns of which the Guzrat Vidyapith still retained its identity for a ong time. The Gurukul University of Hardwar & Brindaban and the Vishwabharati of Santiniketan founded by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore are carrying on their respective spheres of education.

The Hartog Committee on the Growth of education in India, which was a subsidiary to the Simon Commission, presented a Report in 1929 on the state of things in the different branches of Education. It is a valuable document, worth the perusal of all interested in the Progress of Education in India.

The Abbott-Wood Report of 1937, on Vocational Education recommended that a survey should be made of the educational needs of the Industries and of Commerce preliminary to the determination of the Type of Vocational Education to be provided for the people. For gaining that end, it recommended that co-operation with the Industries, Commerce and educational organisations should be secured so that the provisions to be made may be appropriate and adequate. It recommended that English should be discarded as a Medium of Instruction and the Vernaculars should be adopted in its place relegating English to its more important place as a compulsory first language. It contemplated a novel change in the System of examination also. Holding a Public Examination at about the 16th year of boys for the purpose of sorting them out for the different Courses of Instruction, different Vocations and for Public Service, for whichever they might be found suitable, will greatly assist, they thought, in the solution of the Unemployment problem of the educated middle classes and help them in choosing their Career.

On this particular question the provincial departments of Education and the Universities made unfavourable observations and the proposal did not seem to have been received with their approval and by May, 1940 the proposal was given up by the Government of India.

About this time the Zakir Hussain Committee, better known by the Scheme they evolved, as the Wardha Scheme of Education, was holding their deliberations. They recommended the withdrawal of state support from Higher Education, including Technical and Vocational studies in the University. They pleaded that Primary Education should be based on the Basic Crafts and it should be made Compulsory up to the age of 14 for boys ; the Curriculum should have Vocational basis so as to make the scholars self-supporting, giving them the skill of the hand and the discipline of the mind at the same time. They drew up a Model Course of Studies as well. The Basic College at Wardha for the training of teachers for these schools is reported to have been closed by the Government of the Central Provinces from May 1, 1940. The basic Training College at Allahabad still continues to function.

There has been a welcome change in the sphere of Secondary Education also by the introduction of new Curriculum and the introduction of the Vernacular as the Medium of Instruction in most of the Provinces.

NEW LIGHT ON KASHIRAM DAS

PROF. ROMESH CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.

THE twin epics of mediaeval Bengali literature—the Ramayana of Krittibash and the Mahabharata of Kashiram Das—are objects of perennial interest to those who investigate the literature of Bengal. Occupying an unassailable position in the hearts of the mass of the Hindus of Bengal, these two classics with their authors have kept up a living interest in the minds of scholars and research workers of to-day, and will deservedly continue to do so for a long time to come.

It is a pity that the full life-story of neither of these poets is available as yet. Great indeed is the honour that is awaiting the man who will bring out satisfactory biographies of these two great pioneers of Bengali literature.

With regard to their works, however, Krittibash is more fortunate than Kashiram in this respect that the latter has been the subject of controversies the like of which has not touched the former.

The question whether Kashiram Das was actually the author of the whole of the work that passes under his name is an old one. Pundit Ramgati Nyayaratna was of the opinion that the whole work (18 parvas) was the pen-product of Kashiram. The other school holds that only the first three cantos and a part of the fourth were the writing of Kashiram Das, the rest of the Mahabharata being the work of one or more writers other than Kashiram. The late Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen in his preface to the Mahabharata of Kashiram Das supported the view that Kashiram actually wrote only the first three cantos and a part of the fourth. But a recent discovery makes one inclined to believe that the sphere of Kashiram's actual composition in the Bengali Mahabharata named after him is still smaller.

In the month of January, 1940, at Narail, I came across a manuscript copy of Kashiram's Bengali Mahabharata. On opening the bundle, I found that it contained only three cantos. These were the Sabha, the Vana, and the Stree Parva. Curiously, each of the three cantos was in a different handwriting and, it seems, the copies were made out at different times. The most important, however, of the three is the Vana Parva. The concluding portion of this canto is a brief account of how Kashiram died leaving his work unfinished, and how it was taken up by our new author. Briefly put, an English translation of the account is as follows:—

"Among Kayasthas, Kashiram was worthy of high respect, for he has made known the story of the Mahabharata. He narrated in verse the Adi, the Sabha, the Vana and the Virata Parva, hearing which all people have praised him. In days before, he had commenced writing this work. But he met with his death, following the ways of the gods. After having completed the story of Agastya he died; and the chapter of the Forest was not completed. Reading this incomplete chapter from its beginning, I felt aggrieved and anxious thoughts were in my mind for this matter. For this reason, I composed in verse the remaining portions of the Vana Parva, as I wanted to. Kashiram was a great sage and full of virtue; I am devoid of all good qualities" etc. etc.

In the last but four lines of the canto, the date of composition is given, which is either 1568 or 1598 (according to the alternative meaning of a word in the line concerned) Saka era; that is, 1646 or 1676 A.D. If we take the last date, the MS. is 264 years old. The name of the complementary author is given as "Sutajit, son of Shikhara." The name of the copyist is "Babu Ramdas Ghose, inhabitant of Durgapur." As there are more than one Durgapur near Narail, and other villages of the same name in different places, it is impossible at this distance of time either to locate the village or to trace the geneology of the copyist. As to the author Sutajit himself, no details are available besides what meagre information is given by him in the brief account given above.

But the important revelation made by this MS. is worthy of consideration. If the account given above be genuine, which no doubt it is, then Kashiram's actual authorship of the Bengali Mahabharata that is named after him is restricted to only the first two Parvas (Adi and Sabha) and nearly half of the third (Vana Parva). In the MS. under notice, the Vana Parva runs up to 102 leaves. The story of Agastya which is said to be the last limit of Kashiram's penmanship in the Mahabharata occurs on folio 42, which is less than half of the total number of folios for the canto.

It is a fact that in the current editions of "Kashiram's Mahabharata" the account of Sutajit's complementary authorship of the work is not to be found; nor do we know if Sutajit continued his writing to complete the whole of the Mahabharata, the MS. that is in my possession being imcomplete.

As to the first point, the current version of the printed Mahabharata named after Kashiram being the outcome of prunings and graftings of many manuscripts and their parts, we should not be astonished if the account given by Sutajit of himself had been left out in the process by the several amateur and not too scrupulous editors and compilers who, by united or successive efforts, brought out the first printed book whose progeny we now find in the market. Since the work of these pioneers, with all its faults, has been the basis of recent respectable recensions of the work, it can reasonably be surmised that the original omission has, somehow, been kept up.

As to the second point, *viz.*, whether Sutajit, our new poet, continued his writing beyond the Vana Parva, we cannot form a definite opinion, evidence, both internal and external, being entirely absent. We can only guess that the man with such ambition did try to continue his laudable work.

Now, with regard to the first point, Sutajit's account of himself has to be compared with the theory that Kashiram's nephew Nandaram was the man who mainly completed the unfinished portion of his uncle's work. But the brief account found in the old manuscript of the Viswakosha office (quoted in the preface to the Mahabharata edited by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen) does not mention exactly at what point Kashiram left his work incomplete. Nandaram, therefore, (in the absence of any clear statement to the contrary) does not stand in the way of our assuming that Kashiram actually left off at the point expressly stated by Sutajit.

By the way, Nandaram's account of himself too is missing from the current printed copies of the Mahabharata.

Next, we have to consider the rival claims of Nandaram (Nandaram & Co. ?) and Sutajit to the complementary authorship of the "Mahabharata of Kashiram." Since the Viswakosha MS. mentions Nandaram (according to Dr. Sen) and the present MS. mentions Sutajit with equal clearness, the only possible conclusion is that both of them started work independently.

There is one more point in the Narail MS. which needs elucidation. Sutajit mentions two things in the quotation I have given above, *viz.*, (*i*) that Kashiram versified ("composed panchali" is the expression used) the Adi, the Sabha, the Vana and the Virata Parva ; and (*ii*) that he died before he completed the writing of the Vana Parva. The only reasonable way in which these two statements can be reconciled is to take the first to mean that Kashiram used to make *extempore* verses on the four parvas and subsequently took to the work of writing them down, which work he left unfinished. It is a well-known fact that in the past there were in Bengal (some are to be found even to-day) bands of *extempore* verse-makers (singers of panchali) who followed the profession of singing long stories of gods and goddesses (of the size of entire books) in verse composed on the spot. Kashiram might have been one of these bands of minstrels of mediaeval Bengal, a fact which does not necessarily detract from the high poetical faculties of the man. His career apparently was cut short before he could carry into effect his intention to put in writing the whole of his story of the Mahabharata in Bengali verse.

TWO MODERN NATURE POETS—EDWARD THOMAS AND EDMUND BLUNDEN

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EDWARD THOMAS

IN the revival of poetry which followed the the jaded and artificial products of the nineties, there appear to have been two main movements almost diametrically opposite. One was a tendency to realistic impressionism based on the facts of modern civilization, and generally found in conjunction with quasi-prosaic imagery and irregular rhythms. The other was a naturalstic reversion to the simple life of the countryside allied to bold regular rhythms and romantic imagery. The vogue of precise natural description became the fashion at a time when country scenes and occupations were passing swiftly away. Rural England is a dwindling area and rural poetry must needs decline with its subject matter. Hence English Nature poetry of the twentieth century is bound to be a trifle artificial, but there have been a few poets who have tried, not entirely in vain, to recapture the glories of the age of Wordsworth.

The Nature poets of this century often remind us of Peacock's criticism of the Lake poets: "passing the whole day in the innocent and amiable occupation of going up and down hill receiving poetical impressions." Nothing is less poetical in Peacock's sense of the words than the poetry of Edward Thomas. He does not seek to express in vague but stirring phrases the faint nostalgia which so often comes from the contemplation of natural beauty. I use the word 'nostalgia' after the fashion of modern critics who give it the sense of a hankering after something indefinite. Everything that Edward Thomas sees is precisely noted and carefully assimilated in his mind. It is probably this saturation in his mind of everything that he saw which makes his impressions come out again, as it were, tinged with his individuality. It is this saturation, as if every impression had been turned over and over again in his mind, that makes Thomas so different from the Nature poets who do not properly assimilate, and hence cannot express, what they had received from the contemplation of Nature.

Edward Thomas started as a prose writer. His studies of Keats, Swinburne, Pater and Maeterlinck, though full of penetrating criticisms, found very few readers ; his books describing the beauties of Nature in different parts of England had a fair sale. Nature, as Matthew Arnold said of Wordsworth, "seemed to take the pen out of his hand and write" with her own charm and vigour. It appears that at a certain point what Thomas assimilated from Nature transcended what could be expressed in prose and that at this point, towards the end of his life, he began to write poetry, continuing to express more precisely and completely what he had previously stated in prose. Thomas could express an impassioned, almost "trance-like delight" in depicting Nature, and the things which delighted him were the commonest in life and unusual in literature: sign-posts, foot-paths, nettles, owls, even an ordinary railway station, *Adlestrop*, nestling in the summer sunshine against a background of

Willows, willow-herb and grass,
And meadows sweet, and haycocks dry.

With a particularity of detail, which is at once charming and true, he describes the natural scenes as they pass before his eyes: *Sedge-Warblers*, one of his loveliest poems, has these magnificent lines of description:

And sedge-warblers, clinging so light
To willow-twigs, sang longer than the lark.
Quick shrill or grating, a song to match the heat
Of the strong sun, nor less the water's cool,
Gushing through narrows, swirling in the pool.

As Mr. Walter de la Mare says, music and natural magic are the very essence of such poems as *Out in the Dark*—

And I and star and wind and deer
Are in the dark together,—near,

and *The Owl*, in which he describes the effect on his mind of an owl's cry:

Shaken out long and clear upon the hill,
No merry note, nor cause of merriment,
But one telling me what I escaped.

Edward Thomas, like W. H. Davies and Edmund Blunden, caught the magic of the English countryside in its "unpoetized solitude." England's hills and dales, its lanes and glens, its men and animals, even its dust and rain seemed to have had a fascination for Thomas. He never sought for the spectacular ; any English landscape under any spring or autumn sky was good enough for him. He knew all England's trees, flowers and birds: less the sedge-warbler, the owl, the thrush, Old Man, the celandine, cherry trees, aspens and the like. And all awoke emotion in him, with the result that even the slightest and most limping of his poems have a peculiar truth about them which never fails to interest. His verse is neat and often expressed with many a pretty turn of fancy. He frequently paints a picture with extraordinary brightness and precision:

They were changing guard,
Soldiers in line, young English countrymen,
Fair-headed and ruddy, in white tunics. Drums
And fifes were playing " The British Grenadiers."
—*Tears.*

The dim sea glints chill. The white sun is shy,
And the skeleton weeds and the never-dry,
Rough, long grasses kept white with frost
At the hilltop by the finger-post.
—*The Sign-Post.*

The church and yew
And farmhouse slept in a Sunday silentness.
The air raised not a straw. The steep farm roof,
With tiles duskily glowing, entertained
The mid-day sun;
—*The Manor Farm.*

It is not Thomas's way to describe objects of Nature through dreams or speculations, but as a cool though passionate lover of Nature. He seldom philosophizes the emotions which he feels in the presence of natural beauty ; rather does he present them as they stand, transmitting them to his readers without the interposition of any obscuring medium. Hence there is little that is esoteric or obscure in his Nature poetry ; that poetry is strengthening and consoling because it falls with a touch of rejuvenation on minds exhausted with the struggle of daily existence. Thomas's Nature poetry brings to people that consolation and support which the countryside and solitude and leisure bring to the spirits of " those long in city pent."

Many of Thomas's poems are full of a slow, sad contemplation of life and a reflection of its brave futility. They tell, not of exalted moments or fleeting intuitions, but of commonplace experiences, such as the effect of an owl's cry on a winter's night. He does not attempt to analyse the emotion he feels, but he presents it as it is—a problem of which he does not know the solution. Such a candid confession of ignorance is met with in the poem *Tears* ; the poet has been witnessing the changing of the guard at the Tower of London:

> The men, the music piercing the solitude
> And silence, told me truths I had not dreamed,
> And have forgotten since their beauty passed.

The emotion cannot be defined or described, but the poet has felt it and passed it on intact to his readers. Various examples of these nameless emotions are met with in other poems of Thomas's. In *Melancholy* he tries to describe what he feels to be the prevailing temper of his mind—a kind of exultant melancholy which is the nearest approach to quiet unpassionate happiness that the soul can know. His was a spirit sad but not morbid, conscious of the impermanence of life but keenly enjoying every transient beauty of Nature. Passionate joy is easily analysed ; but a sweet happiness which is at the same a kind of Melancholy—

> What I desired I knew not, but whate'er my choice,
> Vain it must be, I knew. Yet naught did my despair
> But sweeten the strange sweetness.

—there we have an emotion that is well-nigh indescribable. It is not exactly disillusion ; rather it is an absence of illusion.

To a casual reader accustomed to classically regular poetry, Thomas's verse may appear loose-woven, monotonous and unrelieved by metrical variations. As Mr. de la Mare says, " it must be read slowly, as naturally, as if it were prose, without emphasis," and then its beauty will be revealed to the reader. His lines, often somewhat irregular and best when they are brief, follow the natural undulations of his thought. His diction, like that of Hardy and W. H. Davies, is simple and catching, and there is often a subtlety of music in the words. Thomas's poetry may not soar to great heights, but it is exact in expression and true and sweet in feeling. It is as English as anything that exists, and there are preserved in it a thousand English sights and sounds which have thrilled the souls of men, but which have seldom entered literature before.

EDMUND BLUNDEN, THE POET OF KENT

Edmund Blunden is generally regarded as a rural, a pastoral poet, though he himself is dissatisfied with the designation. He has written a large number of rural poems, and his prevailing theme is the English countryside, which has seldom been studied by a mind possessed so fully as is his of the power to see and express a pervading atmosphere in terms of characteristic detail. He was born and brought up in a remote corner of Kent, and at the heart of his poetry is enshrined the life of that quiet and beautiful county ; as he says in the *Preamble* to the first volume of his poems:

> I sing of the rivers and hamlets and woodlands of Kent,
> Such as I know them : I found a delight wherever I went.

In his earlier poems Mr. Blunden has been greatly influenced by John Clare, the peasant poet of Northamptonshire. Just as Clare had an exquisite gift for rendering in small pictures the impressions of what he saw in his native shire, Mr. Blunden, too, writes of the thousand sights and sounds and smells that he has experienced in Kent and Sussex. It is a real countryside that he has known and walked through and explored, not an idealized one that he has imagined or read about: lonely Kinton Green, Stane Street leading from Pulborough town to the stately towers of Arundel Castle, Quincey's moat, the favourite haunt of almswomen, Hendyke Mill with its fabulous silver bird—all these are described with a freshness and sharpness and directness of vision that are admirable. Mr. Blunden is a thorough realist and keeps his eye on the object, which is placed in its surroundings with a happy gift of vivid and concise description. He has learnt to observe Nature, not indeed as a naturalist, but lovingly and with eyes open. Like Clare he endows the countryside with a distinct personality of his own and seems more anxious to express it than to enlarge on his own individual reactions. In *The March Bee* he writes:

> And warmed like me the merry humble-bee
> Puts fear aside, runs forth to catch the sun.

And by the ploughland's shoulder comes to see
The flowers that like him best.

Very similar in feeling are Clare's reactions to the same buzzing insect:

Me much delighting as I stroll along

. . . .

The black and yellow bumble first on wings
To buzz among the sallow's early flowers.
—*Wild Bees.*

Mr. Blunden, like Thomas, has a love of the commonplace exemplified in *The Barn,* with its "rain-sunken roof, grown green and thin." Grandeur impressed him less than his customary walks over rolling pastures and hopfields. His landscapes are low and rural rather than mountainous or oceanic. Colour comes naturally to him—"gold and red and green and russet-brown" (*The Veteran*). He has brought a wealth of colour to the poetry of rural landscape.

Mr. Blunden's studies of rustic life entitle him to the rank of a pastoral poet of no mean order. His interest in people engaged in humble rural pursuits is of a piece with his love of the commonplace in Nature. For him the peace of Nature is correspondent to, and symbolic of, a peace of human nature. In happy intimacy with village life and field life he can equal most English Nature poets. His rustic characters invite comparison with Wordsworth's village folk. We have the veteran bee-gatherer who plods

Taking his honey under the pippin trees

. . . .

Reckoning ripeness, shoring the lolling sprays.

—and the Waggoner

leading the gray to stall
As centuries past itself would do.

Last but not least, the sympathetic portrait of the octogenarian shepherd " a country god to every childish eye,"

Whose heart leaps up at every steeple vane
And barn and kiln and windmill on the wolds

recalls the familiar figure of Wordsworth's Michael, as do the italicised words the first line of *The Rainbow.* Throughout these poems of rustic life we seem to hear the note of piercing-sweet romantic simplicity which is so often heard in the *Lyrical Ballads.*

Mr. Blunden is interested in human nature, but rarely by itself; almost always, as in *The Veteran, The Shepherd* and *Forefathers*, he couples human with physical nature. The figure of the veteran bee-gatherer is striking because he " steeps himself in Nature's opulence"

Of gold and red and green and russet-brown,
Lavished in plenty's lusty-handed mood

The village Forefathers appear in his imagination intermingled with various objects of rustic scenery:

Here they went with smock and crook,
Toiled in the sun, lolled in the shade,
Here they muddled out the brook
And here their hatchet cleared the glade.

There is in these poems little discrimination between the elements of pictorial and of human interest; the source of the poet's inspiration, his impulsion to poetry has been the countryside in an undifferentiated unity. Mr. Blunden's rusticity is that of one who watches rather than shares in rural activities ; and yet there is no suspicion of superficiality or heartlessness in this detached contemplation of human nature. He has a tendency, in common with Thomas and W. H. Davies, to dwell on aspects and phases of life and Nature which, though having their own peculiar beauty, are suggestive of sorrow. This tendency appears early in *The Waggoner* volume and has continued, so that he has been called " the melancholy naturalist of rurality."

Mr. Blunden is not merely "a useful rustic," a picturesque interpreter of the English countryside; he is a poet with more than one string to his lyre. He has written a certain number of war poems; in fact, as he himself admits, war became part of his experience so early in his life as "to mould and colour his poetry almost throughout." He went through all the horrors of war, and he finds means to tell us how these things go with the beauty of fields and flowers and the singing of birds. The iron had been driven into his soul, yet it had not crushed or seared him. In his condemnation of war, he is urged more by aesthetic considerations than on moral or ethical grounds. The present movement of Mr. Blunden's poetry is away from the rendering of country life and towards "the wider rendering of sensibilities, appreciations and the inward music of existence." His poetry is becoming more general and more subjective. His work has ever been noted for its distinct avowal of personal experience as the core of living poetry. As he touches the deeper veins of his experience, his poetry develops a more musical, if a trifle vaguer tone. There is now and then in his verses a lack of directness and clarity. He has not forgotten Nature, however, and it is in companionship and in communion with her that he approaches nearest God. In *Report on Experience*, his experience crosses the bourne between *perhaps* and *is*. Experience certainly points against the goodness of God ; yes, but it is no matter, says the poet:

Say what you will, our God sees how they run.
These disillusions are His curious proving
That He loves humanity, and will go on loving ;
Over there are faith, life, virtue in the sun.

Mr Blunden has been deeply occupied with the technique of his verse, and his craftsmanship has a distinct quality. A leading feature of his style is a closeness of texture; every line is full, and every word an observation:

The sun flings off the shadows, warm light fills
The valley and the clearings on the hills.
Bleak crow the moorcocks on the fen's blue plashes,
But here I warm myself with these bright looks and flashes.
—*The March Bee.*

His lines are of a certain length, and he has a power of manipulating and varying the metre as the sense dictates. His rhyme schemes are as various as they are quaint. There is often an adroitness with which he applies his acutely personal phrases to disparate ends. His diction is mainly Teutonic, and far removed from urban influences. In his earlier pieces he often used dialect words like ' drouthy,' ' delft ' (*The Veteran*), ' oast,' ' tang,' ' shaw,' etc. But he later mitigated this predilection, at the same time continuing to give romance and character to his descriptions by an occasional localism of which we guess the meaning easily.

Mr. Blunden has been a Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Oxford, since 1931. Before that he was Professor of English Literature in Tokyo University. He has written sheaves of literary criticism, and has made special studies of Vaughan, Clare, Keats, Lamb and Leigh Hunt. He continues to produce, on an average, one volume of verses a year. His elegy on King George V was much appreciated: "An honest king is the noblest work of God" was an apt summing up of the late monarch. He has quite a reputation as a literary critic, and we shall certainly not be surprised to see the Oxford Chair of Poetry coming his way one of these days.

THE POETRY OF WALTER DE LA MARE

MANOJ KUMAR CHATTOPADHYAY

"I HAVE dreamed in my life," says Cathie in 'Wuthering Heights,' "dreams that have stayed with me ever after, and changed my ideas; they have gone through and through me like wine through water and altered the colour of my mind." That, surely, comments Mr. De la Mare "is the very voice of Emily Brontë herself." And he adds, with due qualification, "this has been my experience also." ('Behold This Dreamer': Introduction by Walter de la Mare.) No further comment is necessary, for his poetry itself will bear sufficient testimony to this.

No modern poet, with the solitary exception of W. B. Yeats perhaps, has hovered so hauntingly between the worlds of dream and fact or tried to reconcile them (though not always successfully) so magically. And the regret that has so often blended with the magic is itself proof of the region where his imagination is most at home. No one, indeed, could be better qualified than he to introduce us to the realm of dreams and familiarize us with its atmosphere.

To De la Mare, as to Keats, poetry is a world of imagination, a sealed and sworded paradise, a realm of enchantment, where only those might dwell who saw visions and dreamed dreams. Disgusted with this strange disease of human life, with 'its sick hurry,' 'its divided aims,' he wishes to retire and fashion in the chamber of his heart a world which is free from the monstrous inequalities of God's creation. The world he creates is the very same world which W. B. Yeats creates in his 'dramatic poem' (in Yeats's own words), 'The Shadowy Waters,' through Forgael, the sailor to whom 'all is mystery' and 'nothing plain.' The world is the world of intangibility. Like his own Nod, the shepherd, his are 'the quiet steps of dreamland, the waters of no more pain." It has been the proud privilege of De la Mare to justify the position of a dreaming and an escapist mind in the modern world, whose fall he laments in his introduction to his anthology—'Behold This Dreamer' —and creates his poetry out of the tapestries of heaven.

No appreciation of the poetry of De la Mare is complete if it loses sight of the great movement that was raging at the early period of his poetic career all over Europe, *viz.*, the Symbolist Movement. The Movement, be it noted in passing, was, in the words of Edmund Wilson ('Axel's Castle'), "an antidote to the 19th century Naturalism, as the earlier had been an antidote to the neo-classicism of the 17th and 18th centuries." It corresponds to Romanticism and is in fact an outgrowth from it—a second reaction at the end of the century. Literature in the hands of the Symbolists rebounded again from the scientific classical pole to the poetic romantic one. It is rather unfortunate that this movement is made synonymous with mysticism in literature by critics like Arthur Symons, for example. Symons, in his famous book 'Symbolist Movement in Literature,' confuses symbolism with mysticism and goes to the length of calling a purely romantic and an escapist poet like Villiers de l'Isle Adam a mystic. He is however nearer the truth, when he means by symbolist Literature a literature in which the "visible world is no longer a reality and the unseen world no longer a dream." This unseen world may not necessarily be a mystic world, it may be purely a personal world of the poet where he may find rest and succour from the babel of human toil. W. B. Yeats, in his 'Lake Isle of Innisfree' and 'Land of Heart's Desire' creates such a world. Villiers de l'Isle Adam has in his mind this world when he remarks, "As for living, our servants will do the rest . . . . I lived out of politeness." Mallarmé expresses this attitude best in his poem 'Sea Wind' (translated by Arthur Symons):

> "The flesh is sad, alas! and all the books are read.
> Flight, only flight! I feel the birds are wild to tread
> The floor of unknown foam . . . .
> I will depart. O steamer, swaying rope and spar
> Lift anchor for exotic lands that lie afar!"

"Words alone are certain good," said Yeats in the first poem of his collected edition—'The Song of the Happy Shepherd.' This is true of the poem here and this further is true of every symbolist poem. Symbols have the power of evocation and suggestion and symbolist poetry is always suggestive.

Wagner's ideal that "the most complete work of the poet should be that which in its final achievement, becomes perfect music" is thus true of every poem which De la Mare wrote in the earlier part of his poetic career; and here it is obvious he fell a victim to the charms of the symbolists. This is more particularly true of some of his poems—'The Liseners,' 'Nod,' 'The Song of Shadows,' 'Arabia,' and 'All That's Past.' The last, again, is by far the most representative poem in this direction. Its melody is ever-haunting:

> "Very old are the woods
> And the buds that break
> Out of the brier's boughs
> When March winds wake
> So old with their beauty are
> Oh, no man knows,
> Through what wild centuries
> Roves back the rose.
>
> * * * * * *
>
> Very old are we men
> Our dreams are tales
> Told in dim garden
> By eve's nightingales."

Every word is a jewel, scattering and recapturing sudden fire, every image is a symbol and the whole poem is visible music.

Some more examples from his poems will make the dreaming and escapist aspect of the symbolist movement in his poetry, sufficiently clear. In his poem entitled 'Myself' in his 'Memories of Childhood' he tells us that he likes to be alone "forlornly and silently" and to "play in the evening garden myself with me." In his 'Reverie' he warns us not to disturb him in his dream and wake him up from his trance-like state:

> "Bring not bright candles, for his eyes
> In twilight have sweet company;
> Bring not bright candles, else they fly
> His phantoms fly
> Gazing aggrieved on thee."
>
> (Poems, 1906)

In his 'Sorcery' he is seen shunning the sordid realities, the sorrows and afflictions of human life, and he makes Pan their symbol. His woodman tells him to fly away from the feverish contact of Pan:

"Seek not the face of Pan to see
Flee from his clear note summoning thee
To darkness deep and black
He dwells in thickest shade
Piping his notes forlorn
Of sorrow never to be allayed
Turn from his coverts sad
Of twilight unto morn."

'The Dark Chateau' places him with Keats. The theme, even the imagery, is Keatsian, closely resembling the 'Ode to the Nightingale.' Like Keats, he is carried on the 'viewless wings of Fancy' far from the whips and scorns of Time, to a region of dreams where—

"In dreams a dark Chateau
Stands ever open to me
In far ravines dream-waters flow
Descending silently;
Above its peaks the eagle floats
Lone in a sunless sky
Mute are the golden wood-land throat
Of the birds fleeting by."

The dream of the dreamer, as in the case of Keats also, is soon shattered to pieces and he awakes at last to follow the daily routine of his jejune and work-a-day life:

"But ever as I gaze
From slumber soft doth come
Some touch my stagnant sense to raise
To its old earthly home;
Fades then that sky serene
And peak of ageless snow
Fades to a paling dawn-lit green
My dark Chateau."

In poems like these, we catch glimpses of Poe's peculiar landscape. Only whereas in Poe such a background or atmosphere forms part of the sole world in which his lyrical genius can live or breathe, in De la Mare it is but the expression of one mood among many. The final effect of these poems is somewhat uncanny and bizarre; they are mostly dew-laden and seem to sigh like birds from an unknown country telling us legends in an unknown tongue.

The imagery, the words, the phrases he chooses are quite in keeping with his peculiar mental climate. In this he presents a strong resemblance to Yeats, who, like him, is endowed with the supreme gift of creating an atmosphere. That the dreamy imagery corresponds to his dreamy thoughts can be seen from the following sentences:

(*i*) " But even where the primrose sets
The seal of her pale loveliness."
(They told me)

(*ii*) " When to green banks the glow-worms bring
Pale lamps to brighten evening
Then stirs in his thick sleep the owl
Through the dewy air to prowl."
(Evening)

(*iii*) " Softly along the road of evening
In a twilight dim with rose
Wrinkled with age, and drenched with dew
Old Nod, the shepherd, goes."
(Nod)

(*iv*) " The thin moonlight with trickling ray
Thridding the boughs of silver May
Trembles in beauty, pale and cool,
On folded flower, and mantled pool."
(The Tired Cupid)

There is a distinctive pictorial quality in his poetry which should engage our serious attention. His power of description is unique and he has the wonderful knack of evoking pictures coupled with the rare power of making the sound echo the sense.

(*i*) " The sky was like a waterdrop
In shadow of a thorn
Clear, tranquil, beautiful,
Forlorn ;
Lightning along its margin ran;
A rumour of the sea
Rose in profundity and sank
Into infinity." (Remembrance)

The weirdness of evening is described with magic incantation in the following words:

> "Now all is still; the fieldman is
> Lapped deep in slumbering silentness;
> Not a leaf stirs, but clouds on high
> Pass in dim flocks across the sky
> Puffed by a breeze too light to move
> Aught but these wakeful sleep above."
> (Evening)

Prof. Raleigh, while lecturing at Princeton University asserted that "real high poetry cannot be made out of dreams." The learned Professor misjudged the true nature of dream-poetry, the poetic output of De la Mare will give the lie to his theory. The true poetry of dream, we are assured by R. L. Megroz, does not lack discipline either of technique or of spirit. Further, imaginative escape from the limitations of actual life is the prime motive of all the creative achievements of mankind and not a sort of paltry cowardice. Those who fit perfectly into the world as it is and never experience the loneliness of longing for an exciled beauty, are not the most courageous and intelligent but those "who have sold their spiritual birthright for a 'mess of pottage'."

Another quality that gives its distinguishing mark and runs like a thread of gold throughout his poetry is his mysticism. It is the desire, generally speaking, to be literally at one with the highest reality of which the soul is aware. In its highest consummation it is the supreme adventure of the soul, or as Plotinus puts it, it is the flight of the Alone to the Alone. The presence of religious elements alone in the writng of a poet or an author does not make him a mystic. Hence, in this sense Donne, Herbert, Hooker, Tennyson, Rosseti are not mystics, but Crashaw, Vaughan, Blake, Wordsworth, Emily Brontë, George Russell, W. B. Yeats are better entitled to that noble appellation. The nof of vision, ecstasy, rapture and yearning must be present in order that a poet or an author may be called a mystic.

Mystic poetry is therefore a special kind of poetry. It is religious poetry no doubt, but it is the expression of a special religious experience, or, to be more precise, it is the expression of a special spiritual awareness. This awareness cannot be reached by scientific consciousness, because the mystic realities are far more subtle than the subtlest object that science can contemplate.

In this note of ecstasy and vision are soaked and saturated the writings of De la Mare. Standing on earth he can obtain a glimpse of the oversoul and be engaged in deep meditation:

> " Yet through this vapid surface, I
> Seem to see old-time deeps: I see
> Past the dark painting of the hour
> Life's ecstasy.
>
> Pale, changeless, everlasting Dian
> Gleams on the prone Endymion
> Troubles the dullness of his dreams
> And then is gone." (The Glimpse)

His desires are never whetted ; appetite never satisfied ; like fire fed by sacrificial offerings, it goes on unchecked, he tries once more in his eager yearning to have the invisible being in his complete control:

> " Wilt thou never come again
> Beauteous one?
>
> * * * *
>
> Only thou immortally hauntest on
> This poor earth in time's flux caught
> Hauntest on, pursued, and unwon
> Phantom child of memory
> Beauteous one?" (The Phantom)

Sometimes even he is a guest, an aimless traveller knocking upon the door of his beloved at the break of day, but finding no response of hospitality from his host:

> " The frail convolvulus had wreathed
> Its cup, but the faint flush of eve
> Lingered upon thy western wall ;
> Thou hadst no word to give
> Once yet I came; the winter stars
> Above thy house wheeled wildly bright;
> Foot sore, I stood before thy door
> Wide open into night."
> (In Vain)

By the darkened river where the moss lies smooth and deep and the dark trees lean unmoving arms " silent and vague in sleep," and the " bright-heeled " constellation pass in splendour through the gloom, he hears the call of some one he fails to understand:

" Who is it calling o'er the darkened river
In music, 'Come '?"

Sometimes indeed this mood of uncertainty and indefiniteness is over, and he attains the mood of serene peace and calm tranquillity. He then feels that some one is by his side, checking and guiding him throughout his life:

" He touches me
Says quietly,
Stir not, nor whisper,
I am nigh ;
Walk noiselessly on,
I am by."

(Fear)

In his reverie and mood of exaltation, he can hear eternal music wafted on the breeze from a nameless shore. He tries to feel it, gropes for it, but fails to give this airy nothing a local habitation and a name. The earth only seems to recede farther and farther into the background till it melts into thin chilly air and he plunges in the deep abyss:

" When music sounds, gone is the earth I know
And all her lovely things, even lovelier grow,
Her flowers in visions flame, her forest trees
Lift burdened branches still with ecstasies.
When music sounds, all that I was I am
Ere to this haunt of brooding dust I came
While from Times woods break into distant song
The swift-winged hours, as I hasten along."

Intense, then, becomes his agony ; the check that he has to exercise proves dreadful ; the pulse begins to throb ; the brain begins to think ; the soul feels itself tied down, like bird in a cage, to the laws of the flesh pulling him in a different direction and no escape is visible through the fetters. This attitude which is very much characteristic of Emily Brontë in her 'Prisoner' becomes manifest in his poem

'The Cage.' The bird in the cage symbolizes the poet's soul *enmeshed* in the body; says he.

"Why did you flutter in vain, poor bird,
Hard pressed in your small cage of clay ?
'Twas but a sweet false echo that you heard
Caught only a feint of day,
Fret now no more, be still, those steadfast eyes,
Those folded hands, they cannot set you free ;
Only with beauty wake wild memories,
Sorrow for where you are, for where you would be."[1]

Allied to this mysticism of De la Mare is his poetry of chidhood. Vaughan and Trahearne in the 17th century tried their utmost and became successful to reach the heaven of childhood—the land of perpetual bliss and felicity. Vaughan regrets in his 'Retreat' his "happy early days" when he shined in his "angel infancy" and is mortified to find the "white celestial thought of childhood" passing away. Wordsworth in his mature years feels very keenly the absence of that dream-like splendour which he found investing the world in his childhood. Prior to its coming to the world, he is of opinion with Plato that the soul enjoyed a glorious career in heaven in the hallowed presence of God and was bathed in celestial glory and splendour:

"Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting,
The soul that rises with us our life's star
Hath had elsewhere its sitting
And cometh from afar."

Like Wordsworth and Vaughan, De la Mare also found an access into that paradise of constant joy. Children, he thinks, are informed with the breath of Divinity and nothing on earth is powerful enough to damp their spontaneous joy and vigour:

"Thick mystery, wild peril
Law like an iron rod:—
Yet sport they on in spring's attire
Each with his tiny fire
Blown to a core of ardour
By the awful breath of God."

(The Children of Stare)

Death has no terror for simple and innocent children, and life is a mockery if "death have the least power men say it hath":

"Innocent children out of naught
Build up a universe of thought
And out of silence fashion Heaven."
(Where is thy Victory?)

Like Wordsworth also he admits the continuity of the human soul, and like Wordsworth also regrets for the oblivion that seizes him in his mature years;

"Very old are we men
Our dreams are tales
Told in dim Eden
By Eve's nightingale.

We wake and whisper awhile
But the day gone by
Silence and sleep like fields
Of amaranth lie."
(All That's Past)

In his later poems, 'The Motley' and 'The Veil,' the creative spirit is working in a wholly different way and on a wholly different material, contemplation and interpretation having largely taken the place of picture and story. But the rhythmic creation of beauty becomes even more marvellous, the fusion of form and substance complete, and the poet, working in an altered mood and to a different end, is still the poet of dream and vision, of secret glades and beloved ghosts. But the predominant mood here is the mood of disillusion, frustration and farewell and not the robust optimistic mood of Browning's "God's in the Heaven,—All's right with the world." Veil has been completely withdrawn—all is uncertainty. Everywhere from the hills and the streams and the woods voices call, but they are the mocking voices and never the clear, assuring voices Wordsworth heard in Nature in solitude. So it might have been with some unrecorded child of Adam wandering near the impenetrable hedges of Eden alone, hoping always to find an entrance to that place where once he was happy, but from which—he knows not why—he is now banished.

The mood that now seizes him is characteristic also of the moods of his other contemporary poets—T. S. Eliot, A. E. Housman, Stephen

Spender and C. Day Lewis. To these poets life has lost all its romantic glory and splendour and is nothing but a twice-told tale—a long headache in a wearisome journey. T. S. Eliot can write that " we are the hollow men, we are the stuffed men, headpiece filled with straw " and that this world of ours is nothing but the " dead land, the cactus bind " where we go round the prickly pear

" Prickly pear, prickly pear,
At five o'clock in the morning."

A. E. Housman is out in the battlefield unlike Hardy and thinks that " dust is only the wages of the sons of sorrow and men may come to worse than dust." Cecil Day Lewis is conscious too of the huge barren waste before him:

" For where we used to love and build
Is no man's land."

Even such a romantic poet as Yeats experienced disillusion and wished that he " may wither into the truths." The progress of his poetry is from escapism and mysticism to stern realism. Yeats had at last to snatch himself from the dream-world of his own making and had to come to the brass tacks to take an active part in the current affairs of his country. In one of his later fragments he says that he is " worn out with dreams" and this, I think, sums up the characteristic tendency of Yeats's later verse. He is here seen bidding farwell to the heart that lives "housed in dream at a distance from the kind;" for such heart, he felt with Wordsworth, is sure to be pitied for it is surely blind. Henceforth he repressed all his tendency to create a fairy world as "perfect and useless and beautiful as a soap bubble, a world in which defiance is bidden to all the Zoologists and Geographers, and became a devoted follower of Crabbe whose motto was to "paint as Truth will paint and Bards will not." No longer was he an Arthur O'Shaughnessy " wandering by lone sea-breakers and sitting by desolate streams."

So De la Mare, like Yeats, is no longer a dreamer of dreams. No longer is he now the victim of optimistic delusions. He has now come to approach life from its proper perspective. Human life, in all its hideousness and nakedness, stands before him. The eternal note of sadness which Sophocles long ago had heard on the Ægean and which brought to his mind the turbid ebb and flow of human misery now reaches his ears and makes him say in 'The Riddlers'—

"Nay, some are happy whose delight
Is hid even from themselves from sight
And some win peace who spend
The skill of words to sweeten despair
Of finding consolation where
Life has but one dark end."

Several vain and obstinate questionings then trouble his heart ; some 'truths that wake to perish never' then dawn upon his self and he gives vent to his feelings about human life in the following paragraph :

"What needest thou?—a few brief hours of rest
Wherein to seek thyself in thine own breast ;
A transient silence wherein truth could say
Such was thy constant hope and this thy way?
O burden of life that is
A livelong tangle of perplexities."

He makes several frantic and desperate attempts to solve the knotty problems of the drama of human existence, but he confesses his failure:

"Hours, days, years
Into grey ashes go;
I strive to read
But sombre is the glow.

... ...

O ghost, draw nearer ;
Let thy shadowy hair
Blot out the pages
That we cannot share."

(Vigil)

He perceives now, with Maurice Maeterlinck, that "there is a tragic element in the life of every day that is far more real, far more penetrating, far more akin to the true self that is in us than the tragedy which lies in great adventure." Henceforth, all illusions gone, he turns to be an out and out epicurean like Omar, who, failing to establish the real relation between the Potter and the Pot and to cancel half a line of what is writ by the moving fingers of Destiny, set about making the best use of his present time under some secluded trees with a "flask of wine and a book of verse." De la Mare now can write—

" Leave this vain questioning. Is not sweet the rose?
Sings not the wild bird ere to nest he goes?
Hath not in miracle brave June returned?
Burns not her beauty as of old it burned?
O foolish one to roam
So far in thine own mind away from home! "

Sense of havoc created by time and space, the two circles wherein we are circumscribed, becomes now his recurring theme. The passing away of Beauty stirs him to his depths. "The loveliest thing earth hath, a shadow hath a dark and livelong hint of death"—he wrote in 'Shadow.' In 'Alone' he can write—

" But age apace
Comes at last to all;
And a lone house filled
With the cricket's call,
And the scampering mouse,
In the hollow wall."

In 'An Epitaph' he mourns the death of a most beautiful lady and this finally takes the form of a homily on the passing of Ideal Beauty:

" But beauty vanishes; beauty passes
However rare—rare it be."

But the climax reaches in 'Foreboding':

" Thou canst not see him standing by
Time—with a poppied hand
Stealing thy youth's simplicity,
Even as falls unceasingly
His waning sand.
He will pluck thy childish roses as
Summer from her bush
Strips all the loveliness that was,
Even to the silence evening has
Thy laughter hush,
Thou canst not see; I see dearest
O, then, yet patient be."........

De la Mare can, of course, claim no novelty and originality because he has seen this Ideal Beauty pas. The theme is as old as Omar who, in his 'Rubaiyat,' lamented the vanishing of the spring with the rose and made desperate attempts to "grasp the sorry scheme of things entire" even by entering, if need be, into a pact with Destiny. Much of the melancholia of Shelley and Keats springs also from the same fact. W. B. Yeats too, like all other votaries of beauty, had to face the unpleasant fact that "all that is beautiful drifts away like waters." "The innocent and the beautiful" he is pained to admit, "have no enemy but Time."

Keats, in his 'Hyperion,' had the boldness to declare before the world the immortality of Beauty over Death and Time—a theme repeated also in his famous 'Ode to the Nightingale':

"Thou wast not born for death, immortal bird,
No hungry generation trod thee down."

Form may die, but the spirit is unchangeable and unassailable. So, let us brush aside everything that has been said about De la Mare just above and remember that the final message of the poet is the message of triumph and exaltation rather than of depression and defeat. His message, if there is any, rings clear in the following words:

"Look thy last on all things lovely
Every hour. Let no night
Seal thy sense in deathly slumber
Till to delight
Thou have paid thy utmost blessing;
Since that all things thou wouldst praise
Beauty took from those who loved them
In other days." (Farewell)

The appeal of Beauty, in other words, is the appeal of eternity.

SOME WELL-KNOWN MORALISTS ON VERACITY

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IN a previous article we have considered veracity or truthfulness as a moral duty from the commonsense standpoint. In the present paper we shall discuss the views of some well-known philosophers regarding veracity or truth in its moral aspect.

The appreciation of veracity has varied much in ancient and modern ethics. We do not find the rigorism of the modern moralist among the Greek moral philosophers. Intentional deception is not only permitted by them under certain circumstances, but even demanded. The authorities of the state must employ deception as a means to the welfare of the governed. With regard to this Socrates, Plato and the Stoics are all of the same opinion. Thus the Greeks do not regard veracity as absolutely and invariably obligatory. Plato gives expression to his estimate of it in the Republic, where he distinguishes between the ' true lie ' or the ' lie in the soul,' which is hated by both gods and men, and the ' lie in words,' which is, in certain cases, useful and not hurtful, as in dealing with enemies or with friends in a fit of madness or illusion, and in mythology, where we do not know the truth. He also justifies the ' noble' or ' royal lie ' ; the rulers are privileged to lie for the public good. Now, against Plato's theory of " royal lie " we must say that it is marred by an undue bias towards the rulers which no impartial theory of morality can justify. If an occasional lie can be justified in a ruler on grounds of public or general well-being, we do not see why an occasional lie in a private individual should not be similarly justified, especially when it is necessary for the defence of legitimate private interests or rights.

Kant maintains the absolute obligatoriness of veracity. " To be truthful in all declarations is a sacred unconditional command of reason, and not to be limited by any expediency." A single exception would destroy that universality which is essential to a moral principle. Indeed, according to Kant, "a lie is an abandonment or, as it were, annihilation of the dignity of man." He reckons veracity among the duties to self. He regards falsehood (under all circumstances) as a crime of man against his own person, and places it (falsehood) on a level with suicide ; as the latter destroys the physical life, so the former destroys moral life by undoing man's dignity. Thus when a man misdirects a murderer in search of his victim, and dexterously turns him into the hands of the police, we cannot excuse him ; he has told a lie, and has therefore forfeited his dignity as a man. Hence truth should always be spoken without regard to consequences, since the dignity of man is impaired by any lying. Now, it may be remarked that the Kantian doctrine appears to be very rigorous, as it permits of no exceptions to the principle of veracity. According to it one should always speak truth whatever may happen—"even if the world be destroyed." But the moral sense of mankind seems to justify falsehood under certain circumstances when lying is the only means of defending our own legitimate rights and the rights of others in respect of life and property. Suppose that a physician, in order to keep up courage and hope in his patient, gives a deceptive answer to a question of his patient who is dangerously ill, and thus tells a lie, would we say that the physician forfeits his dignity as a man in this way ?

J. S. Mill holds that the maxim of veracity, though sacred, admits of possible exceptions. Thus, according to him, we are justified in speaking falsehood to assassins and robbers when our true assertions aid them in pursuing criminal ends. Hence there seem to be circumstances under which lying is justified, while truth-speaking going against the welfare of society appears to be morally wrong. Indeed, according to Mill, the principle of veracity has a utilitarian basis, since it is explicable only as means to social happiness, and its possible exceptions can be justified only by reference to the social welfare.

We have seen that Mill justifies falsehood by consideration of expediency, *i.e.*, by weighing the social gain of any particular falsehood against the disadvantage or loss arising from speaking the truth. Thus in some exceptional cases unveracity is justified, since it promotes a greater amount of general happiness. Hence the violation of the maxim of veracity is based on utilitarian grounds. But it is doubtful whether utility, broadly interpreted, supports unveracity in any case. If utility be taken as the test, we cannot be sure that the injurious effect of falsehood does not outweigh its possible good result. Even a single act of unveracity in a special case is likely to produce a general disposition to mendacity and so end in a balance of evil over good on the whole. Further, the adoption of unveracity in a special case will set a bad example, which is likely to be imitated by ordinary men in whose hands it may lead to very bad results in so far as they are likely to speak falsehood not only in special circumstances but even under circumstances where there is no sufficient justification for falsehood. Thus unveracity in a special case will ultimately disturb social peace and happiness, though it may appear to promote social interest for the time being. Hence in the long run utility derived from unveracity will be smaller than that derived from veracity. Sidgwick admits the force of this contention when he says " the utilitarian may doubt whether the violation of the maxim of veracity is not likely to do more harm than good to the society in which he is actually living."

Leslie Stephen holds that on certain occasions our duty lies in speaking falsehood instead of truth. He explains the exceptions to the rule of truth-speaking thus. According to him in respect of veracity there are two rules, external and internal. The rule, ' Lie not,' is the external rule, and corresponds approximately to the internal rule, ' Be trustworthy.' The external rule requires that we should speak the truth, while the internal rule demands that we should try to be deserving of the confidence of others. In some exceptional cases, however, the two rules may diverge, and in such cases it is the internal rule which is morally approved. Thus suppose a man has the confidence that I shall defend his life and honour. Now, if a robber seeks from me information about him and I give the true information, the robber will be able to do him injury. So his confidence will be violated if I speak the truth. Hence in this case I am justified in violating the external rule by telling a lie in order to justify his confidence in me, thereby observing the internal rule. It may be pointed out, however, that this explanation of Stephen seems to be inadequate for two reasons. (1) In the above case though I observe the internal law, *i.e.*, stick to the rule of trustworthiness, I do so with qualification. For the deceived robber also trusts my veracity. Hence his confidence that I shall speak the truth will be violated though the confidence of the innocent man that I shall defend his life and honour will remain unshaken. (2) Stephen's theory justifies falsehood in defending only the rights of others but not our own, since a falsehood in self-defence obviously cannot be justified as an application of the internal law 'Be trustworthy.' But if we are sometimes justified to tell a lie in order to defend the rights of others, it is paradoxical to say that we are not so justified to defend our own.

Martineau holds that reverence for morality justifies unveracity in some exceptional cases. According to him veracity or truth-speaking rests on reverence for the moral order of the universe. Hence we are justified in speaking falsehood to those who, by making a wrong use of a true information, will try to introduce confusion into the moral common wealth. Thus take the case of assassins, robbers, enemies and mad men. In most cases they seek access to the truth in order to make a wrong use of it. The more we give them true information, the more disorder they introduce into the moral common-wealth. Hence in order that we may not be disloyal to the moral order of the universe, we should conceal true facts from them or even speak falsehood to them, if necessary. Indeed, such men want true information, not for the welfare of the society but only for the overthrow of the moral order of the society they belong to. Their aim is not to serve society, but only themselves at the expense of the society in which they live. Though in society, they are thus not of society. They may therefore be discounted as members of the society. Thus such men, by reason of their moral transgression, are properly outside the moral common-wealth, and therefore forfeit the moral right to know the truth. Hence reverence for the moral order of the world justifies falsehood in such cases. Now, with due respect to Martineau we may say that his argument rests on the assumption that an individual, who violates the moral law, should not be regarded as a member of the moral common-wealth ; and hence its privileges cannot be extended to him. Thus, a man who wants to make a wrong use of a true informaion cannot claim it on moral grounds. But it may be said that if an individual be excluded from the moral common-wealth on the ground of some moral transgression, then very few men will ultimately be left to constitute it ; and, indeed, there will be no moral common-wealth of human beings at all, since no man is completely perfect or altogether free from moral transgression of some kind or other.

It is really very difficult to ascertain the precise view of Sidgwick on the rightness of unveracity in special circumstances. He at first examines the method of exhibiting *a priori* the absolute duty of truth. It is generally said that if it were once generally understood that lies were justifiable under certain circumstances, it would immediately become quite useless to tell the lies, because no one would believe them. Hence the general allowance of unveracity would be suicidal, as no none would believe the falsehood. Sidgwick, however, points out that this argument, though forcible, is not decisive ; for there may be cases where the agent is sincerely convinced that unveracity practised by him will not be universally adopted, *e.g.*, when a man tells a lie in order to save the life of his bitterest enemy. It is not likely that such a falsehood should be immitated by others, for people are hardly expected to speak falsehood to save the lives of their bitterest enemies. Thus Sidgwick shows that the absolute duty of truth cannot be established in the *a priori* way.

Sidgwick also examines Common Sense Intuitionism according to which the principle of veracity is binding absolutely or unconditionally, so that truth should always be spoken without reference to consequences. Sidgwick points out that common sense does not really regard the maxim of veracity as absolute, since it praises the maxim in so far as it promotes individual or general welfare. Thus it really explains the maxim only as means to utility or happiness, though the agent is not always conscious of this end, and hence common sense morality is regarded by Sidgwick as unconsciously utilitarian. Sidgwick further shows that though common sense holds that the maxim of veracity should be unconditionally followed always under all circumstances, yet in some cases it seems to justify falsehood to criminals, invalids, etc., (as already indicated in connection with the common sense theory) ; and falsehood in such cases can be justified only by reference to expediency or utility (as already illustrated in connection with Mill's theory). We should however remember that although Sidgwick thus points out the utilitarian reason by conscious or unconscions reference to which common sense justfies falsehood in some exceptional cases, it will be wrong to suppose that Sidgwick himself justifies unveracity in such cases by reference to utility. He rather questions the legitimacy of unveracity from the standpoint of utilitarianism and remarks that in no exceptional cases utilitarianism can pronounce quite decidedly in favour of unveracity, "as the utility of maintaining a general habit of truth-speaking is so great, that it is not easy to prove it to be clearly outweighed by even strong special reasons for violating the rule." Thus he doubts whether even from the standpoint of utilitarianism exceptions should be permitted to the maxim of veracity, but does not say anything definitely on the subject. He simply points out that if in some exceptional cases men speak falsehood, they do so simply on utilitarian grounds. But he does not give any decided opinion on the rightness of unveracity in any case. He, however, seems to be more inclined to the view that falsehood cannot be justified even in special circumstances, since in commenting on the right of concealing truth in matters of religion (*vide* the International Journal of Ethics, January 1897) he condemns it as immoral and unjustifiable even from the utilitarian standpoint.

Paulsen holds that the maxim ' Speak the Truth' does not hold unconditionally. We follow the maxim of veracity because on it depends the social life which is the foundation of human existence. Falsehood, says Paulsen, is reprehensible because it destroys faith and confidence among men, and consequently undermines human social life and so attacks the very fibres of human existence. Though falsehood is thus reprehensible, it is not morally wrong under all circumstances. Conditions may arise under which a lie is permissible or even morally necessary ; such a lie is called the " necessary lie " or the "lie of necessity." Thus a soldier is justified in telling a lie in order to deceive his enemy as to his plans, tactics, or numbers ; again, we do not blame but praise a physician who tells a lie in order to keep up courage and hope in his patient. Thus lies of necessity or necessary lies are possible. Indeed, says Paulsen, the violation of a moral principle is under all circumstances an evil, but it may become permissible or necessary in order to ward off a greater evil from oneself or others. The same is true here. The lie of necessity, like the law of necessity, may become a moral duty, a duty which even the most truthful man cannot always evade, however, willing he may be to forego his right to deceive.

Now, with regard to the lie of necessity which is advocated by Paulsen we may first point out that this doctrine is not without its danger. For a person who is influenced by it may contract a habit of lying and may always find an excuse for not speaking the truth, and thus it may ultimately lead to self-sophistication. Moreover, it may be asked, if the ' lie of necessity ' be allowed, which form of lie is to be condemned ? Further, where is the boundary between ' necessary lies ' and other forms of lies? Where may one begin to deceive ?

And where must one stop at last ? And how to classify individuals in relation to whom deception is permissible or necessary ? Paulsen himself is conscious of these difficulties and says that no system of morals can solve them, as morality cannot draw such fixed boundaries or hard and fast lines. The particular cases, says he, must necessarily be decided by an individual's own insight and conscience, and with a view to the concrete conditions. No moral theory can give him a cut-and-dried scheme which shall enable him to settle the matter with mechanical certainty It can merely indicate the general points of view by reference to which any decision is to be made.

Green holds that it is not possible to decide theoretically whether falsehood is justified when veracity conflicts with another noble duty. Is a man justified in speaking falsehood to save the life of an innocent person ? This question, says Green, does not admit of being answered with a simple ' Yes ' or ' No.' In this case there are two noble desires conflicting with each other ; on the one hand, there is the desire to adhere to the rule of veracity ; on the other, there is the desire to save the innocent person from a punishment which is known to be undeserved. But it is not possible for the moral philosopher to ascertain by mere speculation which of the two desires is the better, because he cannot know in regard to either that spiritual history upon which its moral value depends ; and hence he cannot give any direction to the perplexed person. The moral philosopher can give help in such a case, if the case is stated not in the abstract, but with all its concrete details. Green illustrates his point by reference to the case of Jeannie Deans who has the temptation to give false evidence on a single point for the sake of saving her sister, of whose substantial innocence she is assured.

Bradley, like Green, holds that it is not possible to determine theoretically whether it is right to speak falsely with intent to deceive a man under certain circumstances. When veracity conflicts with another duty in a particular case, what should be done by the perplexed man? According to Bradley it is impossible for mere theory to offer a solution here, for which of the two conflicting duties is superior in a particular case can be determined only by reference to the concrete circumstances under which the individual is placed in the station of his life. The difficulties of collisions of duties arise from the complexity of particular cases, and they can be solved solely by practical insight, not by reasoning. Thus, according to Bradely, it is the perception of actual circumstances, and not the abstract reasoning; that alone can determine whether falsehood is justified in any case. At the same time, however, he holds that the violation of the rule of veracity is justified in the abstract. For, the duty, which conflicts with veracity, may be in the abstract higher than veracity, so that verocity may be violated in the name of the higher duty. Hence, says Bradely, when Kant maintains that it must always be wrong to lie, he forgets that there may be (in the abstract) duties above truth-speaking. Indeed, since the lower duty has to give way to the higher, neglect and positive breaches of ordinary moral laws in the name of higher morality are justifiable in the abstract. Thus, argues Bradley, " there are few laws a breach of which (in obedience to a higher law) morality does not allow, and I believe there are none which are not to be broken in conceivable (imaginable) circumstances, though the necessity of deciding the question does not practically occur." At the same time, however, we must never break a law of duty to please ourselves, but only for the sake of a superior and overruling duty. Any breach of duty, as duty, and not as lower duty, is always and absolutely wrong ; but it would be rash to say that any one act must be in all cases absolutely and uncondionally wrong. Circumstances, however, can decide which of the two duties is higher or lower in a particular case.

Hartmann holds a theory which does not appear to be quite consistent. According to him truthfulness admits of no exceptions at all ; and no end can justify deliberate deception as a means. At the same time, however, he agrees with Green and Bradley in holding that it is not possible to decide theoretically whether a man is not justified in speaking falsehood when truthfulness conflicts with other moral duties. Thus take the case of a physician. He violates his professional duty, if he tells a patient, who is dangerously ill, the critical state of his health. In this case silence is not adequate, since mere silence may be extremely eloquent, where suspicions are aroused. If the physician will do his duty of warding off a calamity that threatens his patients, he must resort to a lie. But if he does so, he makes himself guilty on the side of truthfulness. What, then, should he do in such a case? Hartmann holds that such questions, relating to conflicts between truthfulness and other moral duties, cannot be solved theoretically. It is the morally mature and seriously minded person who is inclined to decide in favour of the duty which conflicts with truthfulness, and to take upon himself the responsibility for the lie. But this solution does not permit of being universalized. What a man ought to do, when he is confronted with a conflict, is this; he should decide according to his best conscience, and take upon himself the guilt involved in the violation of one duty. This guilt is unavoidable in real life ; it necessarily arises when each person has to solve conflicts which are theoretically insoluble ; it preserves a man from moral decay and makes him stronger, so that he can carry it with pride.

We may note here in passing that Hindu speculation is marked by a profound love of truth—veracity being for the Aryan the corner-stone and the very foundation of the moral life. Thus, according to the Aryan, truth is reality and reality is truth. "Truth," says Bhisma, "is the Eternal Brahman and everything rests on truth." As a matter of fact, the Lord Himself (Isvara) is the incarnation of truth so that the laws of nature are nothing but expressions of truth. Hence every truth uttered is an expression of the desire for the one common unitive life of the Self or Reality whence everything proceeds, while every untruth uttered is deviation therefrom and arises from the desire for a separate, exclusive life.

Again, according to the Aryan, truth is the dominant and essential constituent of all virtues, and not a separate virtue to be taken by itself. In fact, all virtues are forms of truth, as all vices are forms of untruth. Bhisma describes the virtues as follows: "Truthfulness, equability, self-control, absence of self-display, forgiveness, modesty, endurance, absence of envy, charity, noble well-wishing towards others, self-possession, compassion, and harmlessness—surely these are the thirteen forms of truth."

Hence, says the Hindu moralist, truth is the only sure foundation for the building up of character. No character can be virtuous which has not truth for its basis, and no character can be base when truth is preserved unsullied. Indeed, truth is the root of all true manliness, the crown of the virtuous, the glory of the hero, the preserver of the family and the state. Falsehood degrades and pollutes the character, poisons the springs of virtue, undermines alike the home and the nation.

Truthfulness is considered by the Aryan to be inseparable from the heroic character. Thus Srikrisna revives the dead child of Abhimanyu by virtue of the fact that he has never uttered an untruth, even in play. Sri Rama goes into exile for fourteen years in order that his father's promise may remain unbroken. Yudhisthira refuses to struggle for his kingdom before due time, because he has promised to remain in exile. Thus truthfulness is the leading trait of Hindu character.

It is to be noted here that though so much importance is generally given to veracity by the Hindu ethical writers, yet some of them recognise that there are special circumstances where falsehood is preferable to truth for the good of mankind ; indeed, in such circumstances truth is falsehood and falsehood is truth. Thus in the Mahabharata (*vide* Karna Parva, Chapter 69, slokas 32-34) as well as in the Manusamhita (*vide* Chapter 8, slokas 104-112) falsehood is not condemned when spoken

1. in harmless jest ;
2. to save the life of a man (not guilty of any heinous crime).
3. for the welfare of cows and true Brahmanas ;
4. to procure sacred fuel (for the performance of a homa) ;
5. to improve sexual relationship (in lawful cases) ;
6. to secure a lawful marriage ;
7. to save one's property when one's all is going to be lost.

Having thus considered the views of different moralists on the rightness or otherwise of unveracity in special circumstances, we may now state our own position. To solve the difficulties in connection with the problem of veracity or truth in its moral aspect, it is, however, necessary to remember the nature of man as a moral being. Human beings do not live in the sky, nor do they drop from the clouds. They are born with particular aptitudes and in a particular environment—physical and social. Thus they find themselves fixed in a particular station. Now, in order that in this station a man may attain his highest moral end, which may be called self-perfection or self-realisation, he should be allowed certain moral rights the most important of which are the rights of life, of freedom, of property, and the right to education and knowledge of truth. But if a man has these rights, he is also under an obligation to have respect for those rights in others and to exercise his own rights in such a way as to promote the general good. And he, who violates this obligation, forfeits these rights and should rightly be deprived of them. Hence we may lay down the general principle that a man has a right to those things which are necessary for his own realisation or perfection as well as the perfection of others, and he is bound to use them for the sake of that end. Applying this principle to the maxim of truth, we find that this maxim is not absolute or unconditional; on the contrary, it has relevance only as means to an end, *viz.*, the general good. Hence when in a particular case we are honestly convinced that truth-speaking is detrimental to the general good, falsehood seems to be justified. This may be illustrated by reference to the following example. Suppose a robber seeks information from me about an innocent rich man who, being pursued by him, stealthily takes shelter in my house. Now, the robber has no doubt the general right to have truth spoken to him by me. But he is also under an obligation to use the true information in such a way as not to interfere with the legitimate rights of others. I am, however, sincerely convinced that if I give him the true information, he will wrongly injure the innocent man as well as myself in respect of life and property, and thereby he will also morally injure himself. Hence in this particular case he forfeits his right to know the truth from me, and I am, therefore, justified in speaking falsehood to him, although generally it is my duty not to tell a lie. Indeed, we seem to be justified even in killing a man in defence of our legitimate rights. Now, if we are so justified in killing a man, it seems strange that we are not justified in telling a lie, if lying will defend us better against wrong invasion of our legitimate rights. Thus we are justified in speaking falsehood to a man only in special cases under special circumstances, *e.g.*, only when we are honestly convinced that our truth-speaking will enable him to wrongly injure himself as well as others in respect of legitimate rights. In this connection two things should be borne in mind. First, lying is permissible only in exceptional cases. As a rule, the law of veracity should be observed as a necessary condition of self-realisation. Hence it is important that the sacredness of veracity should be recognised. Secondly, in special cases where lying appears justifiable we must be honest to ourselves and should see that by the lie that may be spoken as a necessary duty we really intend to promote only the general good and not our own exclusive private interest. A person who forgets these two things is likely to contract a habit of lying, and may always find an excuse for not speaking the truth.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Indian Paintings

An exhibition of Indian and Ceylonese mural paintings by Mr. Sarkis Katchadourian, a well-known Iranian artist, was recently opened by Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee at the Darbhanga Hall of Calcutta University.

In opening the exhibition which has been organized by the Indian Society of Oriental Art. Dr. Mookerjee recalled his recent visit to South India and said that historic cities in that part of the country yet bore testimony to the height of glory attained by Indian art and architecture in ancient days. To-day in their midst they found in the person of Mr. Sarkis Katchadourian a talented artist who had not only reproduced some of the mural paintings from the South but had practically reconstructed them. Many of these beautiful things of art had been practically lost to them. These efforts on the part of the artist would no doubt rouse in the minds of lovers of art a good deal of interest in things which they, in this country, were proud of possessing in ages past. He hoped this exhibition would give a fillip to the study of Indian art and architecture in the University and outside.

Unemployment and its Remedy

Dr. Meghnad Saha addressed a public meeting in the Hooghly Mohsin College Hall in connexion with the Education Week. The subject of his lecture was " Education and Unemployment."

Dr. Saha said: " The cause of unemployment among the educated classes is not due to the bad system of education. The problem is not only Indian, it is world-wide. Society has either no need for educated persons, or we are producing undesirable material. The second thing asked is that we are not giving them the education which would render them fit for society. The second proposition cannot be correct. The system of education is not bad in this country after all, as I see from my personal experience in America, England and other countries. The teachers in the secondary schools in foreign countries are not better paid than our teachers. Better pay is only a relative term."

" The Government." Dr. Saha continued, " suggested that every weak school was a weak child, and that the former be killed and a more healthy one should be brought forth into the world. This seems to be the attitude of the Government of Bengal. This much I can tell you, as a man coming from a Bengal village, that our village school teachers, though so poorly paid, took in us a personal interest which is lacking in the schools, colleges and the universities in the cities. These village schools, which have turned out men, outstanding in various walks of life, the Government of Bengal want to kill. These schools ought to be given more money. Bengal's case lies in that. But this is the thing we miss in the Bengal Secondary Education Bill."

The remedy for the unemployment problem, Dr. Saha continued, "cannot be had through magic. It can only be done by a long-term programme and policy of industrialization. The going back to the villages will be worse, the cult of *khaddar* is still worse. The unemployment problem cannot be solved unless we tackle it radically. We cannot tackle it properly unless the Government take up the subject?"

"The cause of education in this country cannot flourish by any method of control. Our leaders, Hindus and Moslems, look to the past, taking pride in our civilization. It is pride in our superstition rather than in our achievement. We must utilize the laws of nature. We must exploit nature. This is the gospel of nature and this is the gospel of science. This requires an unemotional approach to the problem."

Humayun and his Times

An address on "Some Ordinances and Regulations of the Emperor Humayun" was given by Dr. Baini Prashad, Director, Zoological Survey of India, at the fifth luncheon meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society at Spence's Hotel.

Dr. Baini Prashad said that one of the innovations introduced by Humayun was to divide the affairs of the State into four departments corresponding to the four elements: the *Atashi* (fire), *Hawai* (air), *Abi* (water) and *Khaki* (earth). Each department was under the charge of a Minister and the four departments dealt respectively with (1) armour and arms, etc., (2) transport, kitchens and stables, (3) syrup and wine manufacture and irrigation, and (4) agriculture, building and the administration of the exchequer, lands, etc.

The opening of the sessions of the Royal Court was announced by beat of drums, guns being fired at their termination. Rewards in the form of robes of honour and cash were doled out and punishments were carried out by a special staff on orders being issued. Drums were beaten in the morning for prayers, later when the sun rose for people to attend to the affairs of government, and finally, in the evening for leisure and enjoyment.

Art Exhibition in Calcutta

The second annual Art Exhibition of the Calcutta School of Crafts was opened by Mr. O. C. Gangoly at 47, Chowringhee Road, Calcutta. Mr. Gangoly commended the various exhibits on display and wished the school every success.

The exhibition included a number of photographs and water-colours. There was also a display of brass and wood crafts.

Bombay University

An allegation that the governing bodies of some of the private colleges were taking undue advantage of the educated unemployed and employing professors on a very bare pittance, was made at the Bombay University Senate meeting when a resolution on the subject was discussed.

It was resolved to appoint a committee to investigate the question and find out the conditions of service of professors employed by private colleges.

Miscellany

THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE ILLITERATE

In modern times the illiterate has hardly anywhere in East or West been treated by the cultured classes as of any worth whether as an intellectual person or as a moral agent. The present world-situation which is compelling the hypercivilized peoples to march "back to the caves" in which the palaeolithic races flourished furnishes us with an occasion for re-examining the foundations of this traditional view of science and philosophy regarding the illiterates.

The psychological and ethical values of the human personality deserve to be transvalued in the light of objective realities about men and women based on statistical and comparative investigations. The students of science are called upon to realize that both in East and West,—even in those regions which are used to universal, compulsory and free school systems,—the railway coolies, plantation labourers, mine-workers, factory labourers, peasants, in other words, those occupational classes which constitute the majority of the "gainfully employed" do not necessarily possess an intelligence and moral character inferior to those of the persons who academically, professionally and economically belong to the upper ten thousands.

We are speaking here of those men and women who happen to be "unlettered". It is to be noted that we are not using the word "uneducated". By the word "unlettered" is to be understood a person who cannot read and write. The distinction that we make here is of profound significance in regard to the appraisal of human "values". A man who is unable to read and write is not necessarily uneducated or uncultured. Literacy is an essentially modern phenomenon, but culture and education have been going on in the human race for thousands of years. There were millions of cultured and educated men and women during the primitive, ancient and mediaeval epochs of history even in those regions and among those races where reading and writing were unknown. In other words, human intelligence is not as a rule dependent very much on book-learning and school-going. The natural intelligence as well as practical experience of the teeming millions among the illiterates are, therefore, very valuable intellectual assets.

We may now institute a comparison of these illiterates with those who have acquired "education" in schools and colleges. In other words, let us compare the peasants and mechanicians with schoolmasters, lawyers, magistrates, doctors, journalists and political leaders. There is hardly any body among the so-called educated classes who would venture to assert that as intelligent persons, that is, as men and women of common sense, the cultivators and *mistris* do not understand the problems of their daily life, their family requirements, their village surroundings in the same way as do the schoolmasters, lawyers, religious preachers and so on. Those who know the illiterates intimately admit, as a rule, that the fact of being ignorant in regard to reading and writing does not render them incapable of comprehending the interests of themselves, their families as well as their neighbours. On the other hand it is also necessary to observe that a schoolmaster, a lawyer or a doctor is after all an expert in one, two or three things of life. These alleged "educated" persons can claim proficiency only in a very limited sphere of interests. The doctor is not an authority in problems connected with engineering, the engineer in questions involving a knowledge of botany, the chemist in questions of astronomy, and so on. The highest that one can possibly claim for these intellectual classes is that some one is a specialist in a particular line and a certain person in another.

Now, agriculture is also a profession of very great importance. The men and women therefore who are experts in agriculture,—that is the illiterate cultivators,—therefore, deserve the same consideration from the other members of the community as a lawyer does from the engineer and an astronomer from the chemist. Professions are to be respected as professions. The agricultural profession does not demand less intelligence, less dexterity, less shrewdness, less commonsense, less organizing ability than do the so-called learned professions. The same remarks hold good in regard to the profession of the blacksmith, weaver, potter and so on. The *mistri*, the cultivator and others in the so-called manual professions are as educated and cultured, although unable to read and write, as are the lawyers, doctors and the professors.

We are prepared to go a step beyond and assert that as a "moral person," that is, as one who as a free agent discharges the duty of his life in regard to himself, his family and his neighbours, the lawyer, doctor or the professor is not necessarily superior to the *chashi*, coolie, *majur*, *mistri* and all other manual workers. Let the members of the so-called "educated class" place their hands on their breasts and compare their character as sons and daughters, as parents, as uncles or aunts, as guardians, as nephews and nieces with those of the cultivators, factory workers, independent handicraftsmen. It is impossible to assert that the peasant as a class in his moral obligations and sense of duty towards relatives and kinsfolk as well as to the neighbours, lives on a lower plane than members of the so-called educated class. In regard to other functions of moral life also we can institute a comparison and we shall come to the conclusion that in regard to the activities involving money matters, the engineer, the contractor, the schoolmaster, the land-owner, the factory director and others do not as a rule enjoy an enviable position such as might give points to the members of the unlettered classes. We can take other items of private and public morality and we shall find that in criminal statistics, the cultivator, the artisan and the industrial worker do not figure oftener and in larger numbers, proportionally speaking, than do men and women of the so-called superior classes.

These discoveries, based on the experience of a very large number of public workers and scholars, lead us inevitably to the proposition that the illiterate is not a person who deserves to be differentiated from the so-called educated as an intellectual and moral being. And on the strength of this discovery we are prepared to formulate a doctrine which should counteract the superstition that has been propagated in Eur-America and later in Asia as well as of course in India to the effect that literacy should be the basis of political suffrage. Our observations entitle us to the creed that political suffrage should have nothing to do with literacy. The illiterate has a right to political life and privilege simply because of the sheer fact that as a normal human being he has factually demonstrated his intellectual strength and moral or civic sense. The rights of the illiterate ought to constitute in social psychology the foundation of a new democracy. A universal suffrage independent of all considerations as to school-going, ability to read and write or other tests should be the very first postulate of social economics.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

During the period under review the area of the military conflict in the Far East has widened, and human suffering has intensified. Japan's hostilities in China still rank first in the vastness of its devastation. All the damage to life and property in Ethiopia, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Finland represents only a fraction of the loss of human life that two years and a half of the Far Eastern war have entailed. There is greater need than ever for realization of the conditions which now prevail in China and for a sane understanding of the causes that have brought about such conditions. It should be clear to all by now that the issues between China and Japan cannot be isolated from the wider issues in which many of the nations of Europe and the people of the United States are playing their varying and frequently antithetical rôles. An objective study of the problems of the East is, therefore, essential before an attempt can be made to lay the foundations for a durable peace in the Pacific.

It is to the carrying forward of such objective study that the work of the Institute of Pacific Relations is dedicated. Its research into the long-term problems of politics and economics of the Pacific area grows in importance and volume with each year. The number of its members slowly but steadily increases. Attention to contemporary problems parallel to its long-range studies has been greatly accentuated this year through what is known as "The International Secretariat Inquiry" of the Institute of Pacific Relations, namely, the serious international study which is correlating scholarship to the porblems arising from the war in the Far East. Seven of more than forty monographs in this series are already in print, under the following titles:

Japanese Industry: Its Recent Development and resent Condition, by G. C. Allen.
American Policy in the Far East: 1931-1940, by T. A. Bisson.
German Interests and Policies in the Far East, by Kurt Bloch.
The Problem of Japanese Trade Expansion in the Post-War Situation, by Miriam S. Farley.
New Zealand's Interests and Policies in the Far East, by Ian F. G. Milner.
Australia's Interests and Policies in the Far East, by Jeck Shepherd.
The Existing Legal Situation as It Relates to the Conflict in the Far East, by Quincy Wright.

Stimulated by the International Inquiry of the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Japanese Council of the Institute has undertaken, entirely under its own auspices, what will probably prove to be the most substantial adventure in scholarship that has ever been launched by them. It aims to be an objective examination of such subjects as the economic, political and social development of Japan during the present period, recent developments in Manchukuo, the problems in the occupied areas of China and Japan's foreign relations with the Western powers and with China herself. A distinguished company of Japanese scholars have banded themselves together to undertake this major research.

With its members scattered, with its central library making a long zigzag journey of hundreds of miles to its new location, with many of its most active members drafted into war service and two of its principal officers' war casualties, the Chinese Institute of Pacific Relations has grown in prestige, as the war has developed, as the leading society in China for the scientific study of international affairs. Its prospects were never brighter.

The Institute is of the conviction that if scholars of many nations regarded not each other but unsolved problems as their real enemy, the scholars of the world could join in the common task of reconstructing human society. In this belief, the Institute sponsored an international study meeting, held at Virginia Beach, Virginia, November 22-December 2, 1939. This meeting brought together members from a larger number of countries than at any former such gathering, and the members made a comprehensive and fundamental analysis of the world situation. Scholars from India, Italy and Germany united with those from other countries in the examination of the problems on the agenda. The Chinese joined with scholars from all countries represented, including Japan, in the dispassionate examination of the causes of economic and political disorder in the Far East in particular and in the world as a whole. The National Council delegates to this gathering, while representing the Institutes in their respective countries, did not in any sense represent their governments. They spoke as private individuals, not as official spokesmen. The members from twelve different countries who attended this conference must by now have returned to the most distant capitals and universities of the world. They cannot fail to be living witnesses to the widening area of scholarly collaboration.

The demand for *Pacific Affairs*, official organ of the Institute of Pacific Relations, has steadily increased. It provides a unique service to the leaders of public opinion in many countries. Its circulation extends to all the Pacific area countries as well as to many others.

As noted above, the International Research Series has continued its long-term studies of basic conditions in the Pacific area. Work has inevitably been seriously affected by developments both in the Far East and in Europe. Individuals who would have been well qualified and willing to undertake specific projects are now unable to do so because of war-time duties or of the difficulties of travel. It has been possible, however, to follow the main lines of study.

This brief commentary gives only the outline of the work of the Institute. More details may be secured from its International Secretariat which now occupies offices in New York. During 1939, either as temporary or permanent members of the Secretariat, the Institute has drawn into its service scholars from Japan, China, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Great Britain, France, the United States, Germany, Italy and Austria. The Secretariat endeavours as far as funds permit to have the continuous service of a Chinese and Japanese scholar at its principal headquarters.

Adjacent to the offices of the International Secretariat are to be found those of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations. The Council in continuing its work through 1939 has adhered strictly to its announced policy of "complete freedom of scientific inquiry, broad hospitality to all points of view, whether national or international, but subservience to none and democratic procedure in the conduct of its internal affairs." An increasing effort has been made to co-operate with other non-political organizations working in the field of international relations and to avoid duplication of activities of such organizations so that one may supplement the other.

In accordance with its avowed aims, the Council has encouraged the teaching of Far Eastern questions in American secondary schools—through surveys, reviews of text-books and experimental text and study outlines. It has in co-operation with the Foreign Policy Association convened frequent conferences and discussion groups among the teachers.

In the summer of 1939 the American Council published *Films of the Pacific Area*, a special edition of which was also issued for the Golden Gate International Exposition at San Francisco. This Exposition had as its sub-title, *Pageant of the Pacific*, and the American Council found within it much to which it could contribute effectively. In co-operation with all the major publishing houses in this country, as well as of a number abroad, a book exhibit of approximately six thousand volumes and fifty periodicals was assembled and displayed. Thirty meetings for round-table discussions of "Current Events of the Pacific" were carried on under the direct auspices of the American Council, and through its representatives on the staff of the Exposition's House the Council took part in more formal educational activities.

To stimulate interest among the American public in American Far Eastern policy, week-end discussion conferences were held in 1939 in as widely scattered communities as Denver, Minneapolis, Harrison Hot Spring, B. C. (in co-operation with the Canadian Institute of International Affairs), San Francisco, Los Angeles, Charlottesville, Boston, Syracuse, Honolulu and New York City.

The American Council publishes the *Far Eastern Survey*, a fortnightly survey of current economic developments in the Far East, and is also conducting serious research on Far Eastern questions. A dozen or more reports resulting from this research have been published in 1939.

The Carnegie Endowment expended $5,000 to meet the cost of the work done by the American Council for the Division.—*Annual Report for 1939* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Sri Sri Chandi.—By Swami Jagadiswarananda. Published from the Udbodhana Office, Calcutta. Pp. 62 + 328. 1347 B.S. Price As. 14.

From time immemorial Bengal has been the home of the cult of Sakti. This cult centres round the conception of God as the almighty mother who manifests herself as the Universe of things and beings, maintains the world-order according to the universal moral law of Karma and destroys it at the end of one Kalpa. Creation, maintenance and destruction of the world-order constitute the threefold nature of the divine mother who is primarily regarded as a spiritual power or dynamic spiritual life. Some of the oft-repeated charges against Hindu religion and Indian philosophy are that they are pessimistic and pacifistic, that they encourage lethargy and inactivity, and that they are for world negation and not world affirmation. The cult of Sakti which had once its stronghold in this country is a standing repudiation of these frivolous charges. But it must be confessed at the same time that the Sakti cult in India has, for many years past, degenerated into an empty formalism and ceased to influence and invigorate the life of its people. What is now necessary is a renaissance of this cult, a revival of its fundamental principles of the motherhood of God and the divine heritage of man, of an unshakable faith in the moral order of the world and an indomitable will in man to realise it.

The present edition of *Sri Sri Chandi* by the learned Swami may be confidently expected to make a valuable contribution to modern studies in the cult of Sakti. It contains the original Sanskrit text and clearly explains every word of it and gives a lucid Bengali translation of all the verses. The short footnotes added to the translation are very helpful in bringing out the hidden meaning of many difficult words and abstruse concepts contained in the original text. The value of the book has been greatly enhanced by the inclusion of certain preliminary and subsidiary hymns and verses, and their full explanation and translation in Bengali. All these features will make this edition of *Chandi* easy-reading and intelligible even to those who are not well-versed in Sanskrit or do not understand it at all.

S. C. CHATTERJEE.

A Primer of Malayalam Literature.—By T. K. Krishna Menon, B.A., Sahitya-kusalan. Published by B. G. Paul & Co., 12 Francis Joseph Street, Madras. Second Edition, pp. iii + 89 + viii (Index). 1939. Price 12 as.

This unpretentious little book is very welcome as a convenient though brief account of the literature in one of the major languages of India spoken by over nine millions of people. The author is well-known in the Kerala country and also in other parts of India for his manifold services to the literature and culture of his province, and with his talented wife Srimati Kalyani Menon he has taken a share in building up the present-day literature of Malayalam. The book was originally written long ago at the instance of the late Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, I. C. S., who himself wrote one of the first histories of the literature of his own language Bengali. Mr. Menon has given a short account of the Malayalam country, and has discussed the various views which have been expressed about the different epochs of the Malayalam language. I only wish he had eschewed some palpably unscientific opinions. In his own work the chronology he has followed is on the whole sound. Old Malayalam and Old Tamil formed one language up to the 14th century when Tunjattu Ramanujan Ezhuttachchan flourished, although naturally enough Malayalam characteristics were manifesting themselves before that period. Specimens of genuine Malayalam of the earlier periods are naturally rather rare. One great thing noticeable about Malayalam literature is its close connexion with Sanskrit. A great many Malayali poets were equally at home in both the languages, and in their hands a peculiar literary style of mixed Malayalam and Sanskrit (called *Maṇi-pravālam*) grew up, which is not be ignored as mere pedantry. Mr. Menon has done well in including a short sketch of Kerala's contribution to Sanskrit literature, which, as the whole of India knows, has been second to that of no other province in medieval India—the great Sankaracharya himself having been of Kerala. The story of Malayalam literature is brought down to our times, most of the important authors being noticed, right from Ezhuttachchan to Valattol and his contemporaries who are still in the field. Kerala has her distinctive form of the culture of India, and, among the most beautiful things of ancient Indian culture which Kerala has conserved and developed, one must mention the *Kathākaḷi*, which fortunately has undergone a remarkable revival in the hands of Valattol and others. Altogether, Mr. Menon's little book is a very useful little sketch of a literature which has traditions going back to the hoary antiquity, and which is taking its stand worthily beside the other great literatures of Modern India. As it appears to be the only book of its kind for Malayalam, it fills a long-felt want.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

Itihas-Prawesh (Introduction to History): A Survey of Indian History, in Hindi.—By Jayachandra Vidyalankar, M.A. In two volumes—Vol. I, up to the 18th century, pp. 1–496+ii ; Vol. II, from the end of the 18th century to the present day, pp. 497—758: with numerous Illustrations, Maps and Plates, and Complete Index. Published by the Saraswati Prakashan Mandir, Allahabad. 1938-1939. Price Rs. 2-8 for Vol. I, and Re. 1-8 for Vol. II.

This is a remarkably well-planned and well-written book on Indian history, and from almost all points I consider it to be the most up-to-date, most comprehensive and most satisfactory work of its type on the subject I have ever read. Conceived in a thoroughly scientific spirit and executed with a thoroughness and conscientiousness that would do honour to the erudition and industry of any scholar anywhere in the world, this book gives an admirable survey within its 750 pages of the history and culture of the Indian people which will be read with profit and pleasure by both the specialist and the general reader. Mr. Jayachandra Vidyalankar, apart from his own papers and books on various aspects of Indian history and culture, in which he has established his place in the front rank of investigators in Indology, is well-known as the energetic Secretary (in fact, the very life and soul) of the *Bhāratīya Itihāsa Parishad* or ' Institute of Indian History ' of Benares, which, with the collaboration of a group of the most prominent historians and other scholars of present-day India and the support of some of our accredited nationalistic leaders and of the general Indian public, has taken in hand the preparation of a comprehensive history of our country. In the present work, Mr. Vidyalankar has fully indicated his competence to co-ordinate, working in unison with the President of the Editorial Board Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the labours of the numerous scholars who will contribute each in his own field the results of his own specialised studies. For Mr. Vidyalankar has shown in the present work that he has control of minutiæ of detail with a vastness of outlook: he possesses a wide vision as well as a keen insight which does not lose the forest in the trees and does not neglect the apparently trivial and unimportant things. Like a true scientist, he both analyses and forms a synthesis—he knows how to break as well as to build.

The author is not, however, a dry-as-dust analyst or reviewer, with his scientific attitude as his only redeeming feature: he has infused in his creation the warmth of his personal sympathy as an Indian who loves his land and his people with both their greatness and weakness. He is not of that ilk who cannot start the work of analysis and investigation unless it is on a corpse—unless they have the lifeless specimen pinned on the dissection table. Under his clear-viewed analysis or his masterly diagnosis or dissection, the subject continues to be living and does not forego its place in the scheme of things that exist; and feeling himself to be within the subject of analysis, inspite of his scientific detachment, he is emphatically free from that imperialistic bias and pose which unfortunately have blurred the vision of not a few British historians of India who have always put an undue emphasis on certain aspects of Indian history or the Indian situation which have no vital connexion with India, an emphasis on things that are accidental rather than organic. It is, in fact, a scientific history of India written from the point of view of India and Indians only (and, it may be added, from the point of view of its connexions with or bearings on humanity as a whole), and not for the glorification of this or that group or party, of the "Aryan" or the "Moslem," or of the white man with his self-imposed "burden" which makes him feel very important and very virtuous inspite of those for whom he professes to bear this burden not feeling inclined to agree with him that it is in any way to their advantage that he should take up this burden. And it is a history not for Indians only but for the whole world to read. Professedly, it is a history written from the "Indian point of view:" Mr. Vidyalankar and other Indian workers in the field, as well as the Indian lay public, are fed up with the imperialistic standpoint. What this "Indian point of view" really is, has been discussed by scholars like Rao Bahadur Hiralal and Sir Jadunath Sarkar: and no one in any other country with the purest scientific biaslessness can take exception to it. Mr. Vidyalankar's book is also conceived and executed in that Indian point of view: science and truth first and last, and subservience to ideas of group-superiority or of exaltation of groups nowhere: in fact, a statement and an appraisement of all the good and the bad that go to make up Indian history and Indian culture.

Mr. Vidyalankar rightly takes the history of India as an uninterrupted process from pre-historic times to our days, and he does not divide the history of India into three water-tight compartments labelled "Hindu," "Mohammadan" and "British" (why not "Christian"—as Major B.D. Basu has implied, in his *Rise of the Christian Power in India?*). He has discussed the geographical background, and the racial contributions brought in by the original component elements in the Indian people, as well as the bases and methods of historical enquiry. For the *Austric* peoples and languages, he has used the term *Āgneya, i.e.*, belonging to the *Agni-koṇa* or south-east of Asia. This admirably expresses the geographical connexions of the *Austric* peoples, but at first it may be a bit difficult to follow, as all new terms are, until they gain wide currency and become established in their connotations; but I have nothing better to suggest. In Section I, Chapter 4, Mr. Vidyalankar has sugested 2250 B.C. as a likely date for Bharata, the founder of the 'Lunar' dynasty, and 1900 B.C. for Rāma (of the *Rāmāyaṇa*) ; and he thinks the 14th century B.C. as the probable date for the historical kernel of the *Mahābhārata* and for the Kurukshetra battle. In the same chapter, which precedes that on Vedic life and culture, he has given the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* and some Purāṇa legends. I do not feel very happy over this chapter—this is the only one in the whole book to which from point of view of sober history I can take exception to. We are not yet in a position to deduce history out of epic and Puranic myth and legend. There is scope for specialised studies of the subject, but speculations hardly have a place in a general history of India of this type. It seems (though it is only here) that Mr. Vidyalankar has made a concession to popular semi-scientific notions about the historical value of the epics and the Purāṇas. There may be an element of true history behind these (though no serious historian takes the Rāma story to be anything but myth): and it is quite likely that a good deal of Purāṇa and epic stories of kings, heroes and *rishis* belong to pre-Aryan times, inextricably combined with later Aryan history and legend ; and it will be long before we can extract sober history from it —if we ever at all succeed in doing so ; but this appears to be extremely doubtful.

The rest of the book is in splendid form, and while reading it, one feels a rare pleasure at the author's wide range of information, his skill in marshalling facts and his all-embracing catholicity, with its undercurrent of a great and a deep *human* sympathy (and not a superficial nationalistic bias) for the people the story of whose deeds and achievements he unfolds. Time and often one feels inclined to thank him for presenting many a fact which is but little known to the student and the average reader. Thus, it is good for both Hindus and Mohammadans in India, for students and others, to know that Mahmūd of Ghazna was not merely a *but-shikan* or iconoclast who invaded India a number of times and destroyed Hindu temples and images, but he was also a wise administrator and a patron of learning under whom the Sanskritist Al-Biruni flourished and who had on his silver coins for his Indian subjects the Moslem creed (the *Kalima*) translated into Sanskrit, with his own name in Indian characters; that Muhammad Ghori continued the image of the Hindu Goddess Lakshmī on his coins, with his name in Indian letters (*Śrīmad Mīra Mahamada Sāma*): that two Maratha administrators, named Hari Damodar (died 1765 as *Subhedār* of Jhansi) and his son Raghunath Hari, who took a leading part in reorganising Maratha (Hindu) rule in North India, were impressed by the science and learning of the English and other Europeans, and Raghunath Hari who was governor of Jhansi from 1765 to 1794, anticipated Rammohan Ray and the early 19th century thought-leaders of Bengal by recognising the necessity of Western science and learning for India, and he himself learned English and started a scientific laboratory at Jhansi, which he was inspired to do by studying Physics, Chemistry and other sciences from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* which was then out. Raghunath Hari was a truly great son of India whose name we did not know ; if the same spirit had actuated a few more men in 18th century India who had the power to shape her policy, the story of India in the nineteenth century and now would have been quite different.

Ample justice has been done to the cultural history of India in chapters giving a survey of the cultural forces at work in each period. And it is gratifying to note that the question of Greater India—India's cultural and colonial expansion—has not been neglected either, as it is an integral part of India's history.

The story is brought down to the year of its publication, and in recent events when political, racial and communal strifes, wrangles and complications are bringing about the greatest amount of confusion among a population covering a fifth of the human race, Mr. Vidyalankar has succeeded in giving a detailed and dispassionate survey.

A word of special praise is due to the careful selection of the illustrations, which embrace racial types, views of architectural remains, portraits, coins and inscriptions, and maps and plans. They give an illustrated commentary on the whole story, unfolding in pictures the history of a great country and its great civilisation. I only wish that this illustrations were better reproduced.

I think scholars will have to admit that Mr. Vidyalankar has remarkably well acquitted himself. He has written his book in Hindi, the true national language of India, her representative modern speech. Hindi is the *de facto Umgangssprache* and *Verkehrsprache*, or *Lingua Franca*, for the whole of Aryan-speaking India, and for a considerable part of South India as well, though it is not yet a *Kultursprache* or a *Wissentschaftliche Sprache* —a cultural language or a language of science. Its scientific vocabulary is still in the making, and Mr. Vidyalankar himself had to find out or coin many a necessary word. Works like the present one are really helping to establish Hindi as a speech of science and culture. His Hindi is one of the best I have read in a modern writer—he writes beautiful Hindi prose, terse, vigorous, to the point, and withal picturesque. A book like this should have wide publicity and popularity, not only in the whole of India but also in the world at large. We are glad to learn that English, Marathi and Gujarati translations have been taken in hand ; and for my own province, I would like to see a Bengali translation. We wish more power to Mr. Vidyalankar's elbow—and we hope he will continue to give us every now and then at least chips from his workshop where he will be occupied for some years to come in constructing along with other scholars a great and authoritative History of India, of which the present one is a welcome foretaste.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

Ourselves

[*I. The Late Dr. Susilkumar Mukherjee.—II. The Annual Convocation of the University.—III. Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee.—IV. Election of Ordinary Fellows.—V. Nomination of Ordinary Fellows of the University.—VI. Geographical Exhibition at the University.—VII A New Ph.D.—VIII. A New Endowment.—IX. Sarojini Basu Medal for 1940 —X. Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer in Arts for 1940.*]

I. THE LATE DR. SUSILKUMAR MUKHERJEE

By the death of Dr. Susilkumar Mukherjee, L.M.S., D.O. (OXON.), D.O.M.S. (Lond.), F.R.C.S. (Edin.), F.S.M.F. (Bengal), Bengal, has lost a renowned physician and eye specialist. Dr. Mukherjee was a member of the Syndicate of this University and Professor of Ophthalmic Surgery at the Carmichael Medical College, Calcutta.

As a student he had a brilliant career at the Calcutta Medical College from where he took his L.M.S. degree in 1910 and was for some time a House Surgeon there. In 1919 he went to England where he distinguished himself in several examinations and stood first in the D.O. (Oxon.) Examination. Dr. Mukherjee achieved a unique honour by being the first Bengali to hold the degree of D.O.M.S. (Lond.). He was the first Indian to hold the office of the First Ophthalmic Surgeon at the Medical College, Calcutta.

We offer our heartfelt sympathy to the members of the bereaved family.

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II. THE ANNUAL CONVOCATION OF THE UNIVERSITY

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal will preside at the Annual Convocation of the University, which will be held in the University College of Science, Circular Road, on the 8th March, 1941, at 9-30 A.M., for conferring the Degree of Doctor of Science, *Honoris Causa*, on Sir Nilratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.C L., F.S.M.F. (Bengal), and the ordinary Degrees of the year.

The Convocation Address will be delivered by the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, P.C., K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D.

III. Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., Barrister at-Law, M.L.A., has been elected by the North-Eastern Group of Universities comprising the Universities of Calcutta, Dacca, and Patna as its representative on the Council of the Institute of Science, Bangalore, for the triennium 1941-43.

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IV. Election of Ordinary Fellows

The undermentioned gentlemen have been declared duly elected Ordinary Fellows of the University subject to the approval of His Excellency the Chancellor :—

Bidhanchandra Roy, Esq., B.A., M.D., F.R.C.S. (Eng.), M.R.C.P. (Lond.), F.S.M.F. (Bengal).
Ramaprasad Mookerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L.
Satyendranath Ray, Esq., M.B., F.R.C.S. (Edin.), D.T.M & H. (Eng.).

* * *

V. Nomination of Ordinary Fellows of the University

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to nominate Rev. G. H. C. Angus, M.A , B.D., Principal, Serampur College, to be an Ordinary Fellow of the University.

Rev. Angus has been attached to the Faculty of Arts.

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VI. Geographical Exhibition at the University

A Geographical Exhibition, the first of its kind in Calcutta, was opened on the 18th February, 1941, at 4 P.M., in the Darbhanga Hall of this University by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee.

The Geographical Department of Calcutta University, the Geological Department of the Presidency College, the Geological Survey of India, the Trignometrical Survey of India, the Meteorological Department to the Government of India, the Imperial Library, the Asutosh Museum, the Corporation Commercial Museum, the Consul

General of Belgium, the Publicity Department of State Railways and the B. N. Ry. have expressed their willingness to co-operate and make the exhibition a success.

A model of the Manasarovar Lake showing the sources of the Indus and the Brahmaputra, paintings depicting the Tibetan views, manners and customs, pictures of the Himalayas and other land-forms of India, old maps of India and Egypt, district maps of Bengal showing the flooded area and population density will form some of the exhibits.

Personal collections of many members of the Society, including many curious and interesting exhibits, *e.g.*, fish from Manasarovar Lake, complete sets of travel literatures, etc., will be exhibited.

The exhibition will remain open from the 19th to the 24th February between 12 NOON and 6 P.M.

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VII. A NEW PH.D.

Mr. Sasibhushan Dasgupta, M.A., whose thesis for the Doctorate Degree entitled "Obscure Religious Cults as Background of Bengali Literature," has been approved by his Examiners Mr. Hirendranath Dutt, M.A., B.L., Vedantaratna, MM. Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj, M.A., and Mr. Kshitimohan Sen, Sastri, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dr. Dasgupta, who is also a Premchand Roychand Scholar, is an Assistant Lecturer in the Department of Modern Indian Languages and is one of the youngest members of the University Teaching Staff to receive this distinction. We congratulate Dr. Dasgupta on his success.

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VIII. A NEW ENDOWMENT

The Presidency College Dr. P. K. Ray Memorial Committee has obtained a sum of Rs. 1,600 in 3½ per cent. G. P. Notes for creating an endowment for the annual award of a gold medal to be called the "Prasanna Kumar Ray Memorial Medal." The sum has been offered to the University, with the request that the medal should be awarded annually at the Convocation of the University to the student who, after graduating from the Presidency College, Calcutta (of which Dr. Ray was the first Indian Principal), comes out highest in First Class Honours in the M.A. Examination of that University in Mental and Moral Philosophy. Failing this, the medal should be awarded to the student, similarly of the Presidency College, who comes out highest in First Class Honours in the M.Sc. Examination of the University in Physics (Dr. Ray was a D.Sc. of the London and the Edinburgh University). In the event of there being no such student in any year, the medal should be awarded, according to the discretion of the Syndicate, either to a Presidency College student who comes out best in the M A. or the M.Sc. Examination of the University in the subjects mentioned, or to any other student who comes out highest in the First Class in one of the two subjects.

The offer has been accepted with thanks and it has been decided that the Medal would be awarded for the first time at the forthcoming Convocation of the University.

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IX. SAROJINI BASU MEDAL FOR 1940

The Sarojini Basu Gold Medal for the year 1940, which is to be bestowed on the best research scholar in Bengali language and literature, will be awarded at the next Convocation to Mr. Jogeschandra Ray, M.A., Vidyanidhi, author of " Amader Jyotish-o-Jyotishi " and several other learned works in Bengali.

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X. ADHARCHANDRA MOOKERJEE LECTURER IN ARTS FOR 1940

Dr. Prafullachandra Basu, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Vice-Chancellor, Agra University, has been appointed Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer (in Arts) for the year 1940, the subject of his lectures being " Some Modern Trends in the Evolution of Human Institutions."

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

Gleanings from my Researches Vol. I, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B., F.S.M.F. (Bengal). D/Crown 8vo pp. 461 + xx.

University Question Papers, 1935. D/Demy 16mo pp. 1160.

Federal System of the United States of America, by Dr. Naresh Chandra Roy, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 308 + vi. Rs. 3.

Buddhi-o-Bedhi, by Mr. Hirendranath Datta, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 78.

Gitar Bani, by Mr. Anilbaran Ray. Demy 8vo pp. 198.

Bangla Sahityer Katha *(2nd Edition)*, by Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 219 + 18. R.s. 1-8

Asoka *(with illustrations)*, by Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.). Demy 8vo pp. 84. Re. 1.

Europer Silpakatha *(with illustrations)*, by Mr. Asitkumar Haldar. Demy 8vo pp. 146 + 10. Re. 1.

Industrial Finance in India, by Dr. Sarojkumar Basu, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 436 + xvii. Rs. 6.

Nyayamanjari, Part I, by Pandit Panchanan Tarkavagis. Royal 8vo pp. 490. Rs. 5.

General Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts, Vol. I, edited by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A. Demy 4to pp. 180 + vii.

Books in the Press

FEBRUARY, 1941

1. Gleanings from my Researches, Vol. II, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., F.S.M.F. (Bengal).
2. Generalities (*Readership Lectures*), by F. W. Thomas, Esq., M.A.
3. History of Indian Labour Legislation, by Dr. Rajanikanta Das, M.A., Ph.D.
4. History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. III, edited by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.).
5. Adam's Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar, edited by Mr. A. N. Basu, M.A., T.D.
6. Sree Krishna Bijay, edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A.
7. Cynewulf and the Cynewulf Canon, by Dr. S. K. Das, M.A., Ph.D.
8. Studies in the History of British in India, by Dr. A. P. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
9. Post-Graduate Volume (Arts and Science), 1939.
10. Elements of the Science of Language (Revised Edition), by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D.
11. University Question Papers, 1936.
12. Krishi-Bijnan, Vol. II, by the late Rai Rajeswar Dasgupta, Bahadur.
13. Agamasastra, by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
14. Early Career of Kanhoji Angria, by Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt., (Oxon.).
15. Vyaptipanchaka, by Pt. Anantakumar Tarkatirtha.
16. Bharatiya Banaushadhi Parichaya, by Dr. Kalipada Biswas, M.A., D.Sc., and Mr. Ekkari Ghosh.
17. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXXIII.
18. Nyayamanjari, Part II, Edited by Pandit Panchanan Tarkavagis.
19. Ramdas and Sivaji (*Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecture*, 1939-40), by Mr. C. C. Dutt, I.C.S. (Retd.).
20. Collected Published Papers, by the late Mr. Hemchandra Dasgupta, M.A., F.G.S.
21. Rivers of the Bengal Delta (*Readership Lectures*), by Mr. S. C. Majumdar, M.A.
22. Khandakhadyaka, Sanskrit Text, edited by Mr. Prabodhchandra Sengupta, M.A.
23. Translation of Pali Literature and Language, by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, Dr.Phil., D.Litt.
24. Siddhantasekhara, Vol. II, by Pandit Babua Misra.
25. Kabita Sangraha, III, edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. K. N. Mitra, M.A.

26. **Old Persian Inscriptions, by Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D.**
27. Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, by Dr. Binaychandra Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
28. History of Bengali Language and Literature, by Late Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt.
29. Calculus of Finite Differences, by Mr. Pramathanath Mitra, M.A.
30. Industry in India, by Dr. P. N. Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law.
31. Din-i-Ilahi, by Prof. Makhanlal Raychaudhuri, M.A., B.L.
32. Lectures on Art, by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, C.I.E.
33. Manobijnan, by Mr. Charuchandra Sinha, M.A.
34. Calendar, Part II, 1929, Supplement 1937.
35. University Question Papers for the year 1933.
36. Bharater Deb Deul, by Mr. Jyotishchandra Ghosh.
37. Manasamangal, by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya, M.A.
38. History of Indian Literature, Vol. III, by the late Prof. M. Winternitz, Ph.D.
39. Buddhist Historical Traditions, by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.
40. Orthographical Dictionary, edited by Mr. Charuchandra Bhattacharyya.
41. Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., edited by MM. Prof. V. Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
42. Journal of the Department of Science, Vol. I, No. 3.
43. Vedantadarsan-Advaitabad, by Dr. Asutosh Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.
44. Asutosh Sanskrit Series, edited by MM. Prof. V. Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
45. Raisekharer Padavali, edited by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya, M.A., and Dwareschandra Sarmacharyya.
46. Bkah Babs Bolun, by MM. Prof. V. Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
47. Narayana Pariprecha, by Mr. Anukulchandra Banerjee, M.A.
48. Manjusrinama Sangiti, by Mr. Durgadas Mukerjee, M.A.
49. Padma Puran, by Kabi Narayan Deb, edited by Dr. Tamonashchandra Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
50. Haramani, by Mr. M. Mansuruddin, M.A.
51. Dharma Sadhana by Mrs. P. R. Sen, M.A.
52. The Development of Hindu Iconography, by Mr. Jitendranath Banerjee, M.A.
53. University Regulations.
54. Rabindra Sahityer Bhumika, by Dr. Niharranjan Ray, M.A., D.Litt.Phil., Dip.Lib., F.L.A.
55. Selected Inscriptions of Different Periods, by Dr. Dineshchandra Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
56. Jiban Maitrer Padma Puran, edited by Mr. Sambhucharan Chaudhuri.
57. Upanisader Alo (Revised Edition), by Dr. Mahendranath Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
58. University Calendar for the year 1941.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

I. INDIAN CULTURE

A History of Indian Literature, by M. Winternitz, Ph.D., Professor of Indology and Ethnology at the German University of Prague, translated into English from the original German by Mrs. S. Ketkar and revised by the Author. *The only Authorised Translation into English.*

This monumental work of Prof. Winternitz is too well-known to need any introduction to the public. In order to make it accessible to those interested in Indian Literature but not well-versed in German, the Calcutta University has undertaken the publication of an English version. In order to bring the work up to date the author revised the whole work for the English translation. Many chapters have been re-written entirely, smaller changes, corrections and additions have been made almost on every page and the more important publications of the last twenty years have been added to the references in the Notes. Thus the English translation is at the same time a second, revised and improved edition of the original work.

Vols. I and II are the translations of the original German works with notes *revised by the author* and published during his lifetime. The preparation of Vol. III has been undertaken by an Editorial Board of experts on the subject. This volume is intended to complete the work left unfinished by the death of Prof. M. Winternitz. The whole work will occupy several volumes.

Vol. I. Introduction, the Veda, the National Epics, the Puranas and the Tantras. Demy 8vo pp. 653. 1927. Rs. 10-8.

Vol. II. Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature. Demy 8vo pp. 673. 1934. Rs. 12-0.

Vol. III. *In the Press.*

Some Problems of Indian Literature (*Readership Lectures delivered at the University*), by the same author. Royal 8vo pp. 130. 1925. Rs. 2-8.

Contents:—The Age of the Veda—Ascetic Literature in Ancient India—Ancient Indian Ballad Poetry—Indian Literature and World-Literature—Kautiliya Arthasastra—Bhasa.

Sino-Indica, by Prabodhchandra Bagchi, M.A., D.Lit.

Dr. Bagchi has undertaken a series of publications called *Sino-Indica*. The work is a study of Chinese documents relating to India. As the researches were begun in France, the volumes had to be written in French.

Vol. I. *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Tome I* (*In French*). Royal 8vo pp. lii+436. 1927. Rs. 15-0.

It is the first systematic work which deals with the history ot translations of Buddhist texts into Chinese and their translators. The work contains the biographies of all Indian, Iranian, Sogdian and other monks who went to China in the early centuries of the Christian era. A history of their activities, as preserved in the Chinese documents, is given. The first part covers a period of six hundred years, first century A.D. to sixth century (589) A.D.

Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Tome I.—" The author has brought together everything he could on the biographical notices of the translators and gives a register of their works. The large number of references to the literature that might come in question is to be specially congratulated. . . . This assiduous work will have the recognition everywhere which it deserves." (Translated from German.—*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1929, 2.)

" His important work does honour to him and his teachers . . . a fresh proof of the eminent talents of the Bengali race." (From French—*Revue Bibliographique*, 1928, October, Bruxelles.)

" An important contribution. . . . There are some of the important informations from this historical study with which it is full." (From French —*Revue des Sciences Philosophiques.*)

" Work of great value that makes an important contribution to the history of Chinese Buddhism." (From French—*Chronique d'Histoire des Religions.*)

" He has been able to bring out this first volume of a *magnum opus* which vindicates once more the importance of Buddhism in the history of India and testifies to the sound preparation of the author. . . . This is a schematical history of the spread of Buddhism and, with it, of Indian culture into China. . . . . One of the best achievements of Buddhistic scholarship, the first contribution of young India to the systematic and comparative study of Buddhism."—*Prof. G. Tucci* (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 2).

Vol. II. *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois, Tome I.* Double Crown 8vo pp. 336. 1929. Rs. 15-0.

It is a critical edition of two ancient Sanskrit-Chinese lexicons of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., compiled by a Ser-Indian monk, Li-yen, and a Chinese monk, the famous Yi-tsing. The work has been enriched with notes added by Prof. Paul Pelliot, Membre de l'Institut de France, Professor in College de France.

Vol. III. *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois, Tome II.* Double Crown 8vo pp. 204 (pp. 337-540). 1937. Rs. 15-0.

The second part of the *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois* contains a detailed study of five Sanskrit-Chinese dictionaries which have been preserved in the Chinese Tripitaka. These are—the *Fan yu tsa ming* of Li-yen, the *Fan yu ts'ien tseu wen* of Yi-tsing, the *T'ang fan wen tseu* of Ts'iuan-tchen, the *Fan T'ang siao si* and the *T'ang fan leeng yu chouang touei tsi,* all of which were compiled in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Dr. Bagchi has discussed the problems raised by these vocabularies, their authenticity, the biography of the authors, the Prakritic, Iranian, and Central Asiatic elements in the vocabulary, the method of Chinese transcription, etc. A detailed Chinese-Sanskrit index containing more than two thousand words supplies the basis for future Sino-Sanskrit lexicographical works.

This work is of capital interest to students of Buddhism, of Indian history, to Sinologists, to linguists and to all those who are interested in the early history of cultural exchange between China and India.

Vol. IV. *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Tome II.* Royal 8vo pp. 306 (pp. 437-742). 1938. Rs. 15-0.

It contains a history of the Chinese Buddhist literature from the seventh to the thirteenth century A.D.

The work will be completed with detailed indexes in a separate volume which is now in the press.

The Evolution of Indian Polity, by R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore. Demy 8vo pp. 192. 1920. (*Slightly damaged.*) Reduced price Rs. 4-8.

Contains a connected history of the growth and development of political institutions in India, compiled mainly from the Hindu Sastras. The author being the famous discoverer and translator of the *Kautiliya Arthasastra*, it may be no exaggeration to call him one of the authorities on Indian Polity.

Contents:—I. Tribal State of Society. II. Elective Monarchy, III. The Origin of the Kshattriyas. IV. The People's Assembly. V. The Duties and Prerogatives of the Kings and Priests. VI. The Effect of Jainism and Buddhism on the Political Condition of India. VII. The Empire-building policy of the Politicians of the Kautiliya Period. VIII. Espionage. IX. Theocratic Despotism. X. The Condition of the People—Intellectual, Spiritual and Economical.

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Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time, by Richard Fick (translated by Sisirkumar Maitra, M.A., Ph.D.). Demy 8vo pp. 390. 1920. Rs. 7-8.

"Dr. *Fick's Die Sociale Gielderung im Nordöstlichen Indian zu Buddhas Zeit* has, for many years, been of invaluable assistance to all interested in the social and administrative history of Buddhist India. But those ignorant of German were unable to make use of that book and their warm gratitude will be extended to Dr. Maitra for his eminently readable translation. The book is too well-known to need any review; suffice it to say that the translation is worthy of the book. Now that this scholarly work is made available in English, it should find a larger circulation."—*Hindusthan Review*, July, 1923.

Contents.

Chapter I—*Introduction*—The Brahmanical Caste-Theory.

Chapter II—*General View of the Castes*—The Brahmanical Caste-Theory in the Pali canon—Theoretical discussions about the worthlessness of the caste—The Essential characteristics of castes.

Chapter III—*The Homeless Ascetics*—Translation to the homeless condition a universal characteristic of Eastern Culture—Causes of Asceticism.

Chapter IV—*The Ruling Class*—The Kshattriyas—Superiority of the Kshattriyas over the Brahmanas.

Chapter V—***The Head of the State***—**The chief represen**tative of the Kshattriyas is the King—General View—The Duties of the King—Limits of Royal Power.

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Chapter VII—*The House Priest of the King*—Historical Evolution of the Post of *Purohita*—His Share in Administration.

Chapter VIII—*The Brahmanas*—General View of the Brahmanas according to the Jatakas—The Four Asramas—Duties and Privileges of the Brahmanas.

Chapter IX—*The Leading Middle Class Families*—The Position of the *Gahapati*—the *Setthi.*

Chapter X—*The Guilds of Tradesmen and Artisans*—Stage of Economical Evolution in the Jatakas—Organisation of the Artisan Class.

Chapter XI—*Casteless Professions.*

Chapter XII—*The Despised Caste.*

Sources of Law and Society in Ancient India (*Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Law*), by Nareschandra Sengupta, M.A., D.L. Demy 8vo pp. 109. 1914. Re. 1-8.

In this book the author traces the sources of Ancient Indian Law with reference to the environments in society and deals with matters regarding legal conceptions historically, initiating a somewhat new method, mainly following the one indicated by Ihering with reference to Roman Law in the study of problems of Hindu Law.

Pre-Historic India, by Panchanan Mitra, M.A., Ph.D. Second Edition, *Revised and Enlarged.* Demy 8vo pp. 542 (with 53 plates). 1927. Rs. 7-0.

Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture (*Readership Lectures in the Calcutta University, 1919*), by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Indian History and Archæology in the University of Madras. Demy 8vo pp. 468. 1923. Rs. 6-0.

In the course of these lectures the author has made an effort to evaluate the influence of South India upon the main currents of Hindu Culture generally. He considers the main problem in its varied aspects. The first important topic is the connection between the Aryan north and the Dravidian south, and the main point for consideration is the religious contact and the position of the Brahman in South India. The Buddhist influence in this part of the country is found to be comparatively small, and the Brahmanism that is established in the land is found to be pre-Buddhistic in point of character. From this, under the influence of the new venue, Brahmanism itself undergoes a change towards the religion of devotion to a personal God intervening in the affairs of people. Following this in a natural line comes the worship of a personal deity in various forms, together with all the paraphernalia of that worship leading ultimately to that point of religion that holds the field named somewhat vaguely as Hinduism. The literary influence is considered in a chapter devoted to the study of the peculiar Tamil classic—the Kural. Then follows a number of Chapters bearing on the history of the Pallavas which, from the cultural point of view, is essentially the period of reconciliation of the two cultures—Aryan and Dravidian. Saivism and Vaishnavism are the two offshoots which, beginning perhaps in the moderate systems, developed schools of thought more rigorous and leading ultimately to the extreme forms of the two sects.

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Extract from Indian Antiquary, Vol. LIII, for January-February, 1924 :—

" *Sir Richard Temple* writes : ' ....They (the Lectures) are so full of valuable suggestions that it is worthwhile to consider here the results of the study of a ripe scholar in matters South Indian.........To myself, the book is a fascinating one and it cannot but be of the greatest value to the students, for whom the lectures were intended.'..........."

Prof. Hultzsch of Halle, for very near 20 years Epigraphist to the Government here, in a letter, dated 22nd August, 1923, writes : " I have again to thank you for a fresh volume from your pen which I have added to the other works of reference. Your *Contributions of South India to Indian Culture* which will have shown Bengal scholars what a wealth of information has been and can still be gathered in the far-off Tamil country and how many interesting problems are offered by Tamil literature and historical documents. Your books have done much to arrange and combine stray and fragmentary facts and to make a cosmos of the chaos which Southern history and literature used to be not very long ago—chiefly owing to the absence of any chronology."

Sir Richard C. Temple, Editor and Proprietor of the *Indian Antiquary*, in a letter, dated the 2nd September, 1923, writes : " I am much impressed with your *Contributions of South India to Indian Culture* and I am making a précis of it."

Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia, by B. R. Chatterji, D.Litt. (Punjab), Ph.D. (London). Demy 8vo pp. 303. 1928. Rs. 6-0.

" Within this thesis there are probably assembled all the facts at present discoverable concerning Indian influence in Cambodia......Mr. Chatterji seems to have studied all the available inscriptions (of Cambodia) and he has tracked down an immense number of relevant passages in early Indian, Chinese and Arab literatures.........As a scholar writing for scholars Mr. Chatterji seems to have done his work well......"—*Times Literary Supplement*, 6th September, 1928.

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" A very able and scholarly piece of work."—*Prof. Dodwell.*

" His book is a very clear and exact résumé of what we know about the political, religious and artistic history of Cambodia up to 1927—the year in which the book was written." (Translated from French—*Bulletin d'Ecole Francoise d'Extreme Orient*, 1931.)

Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, by Sylvain Lévi, Jean Przyluski and Jules Bloch. Translated into English, by Prabodhchandra Bagchi, M.A., D.Lit. Demy 8vo pp. 216. 1929. Rs. 2-8.

" A most valuable book."—*Sir G. A. Grierson.*

" It is a most valuable book, and I am very glad to possess a copy. Indeed for some weeks I had been trying to find a copy of it in this country but had failed, so its arrival has been doubly welcome...........It is most convenient to have the important essays of Lévi, Przyluski and Bloch in one volume and their value being enhanced by the additional notes of Prof. S. K. Chatterji and Dr. Bagchi himself."—*Sir George A. Grierson.*

"Dr. Bagchi has performed a useful service in translating the important articles......The subject which is introduced is bound to bulk more largely in the linguistic and historical investigations...........the work has been well done both in its quality and in its get-up."—*A. C. Woolner.*

"Prof. Bagchi has not only translated these articles that, collected as they are in a handy volume, will be of greater use to everybody, but has also added a valuable introduction. In this introduction he has given a résumé of the new branch of research, and has gathered with Prof. S. K. Chatterji new and convincing facts."—*Prof. G. Tucci.*

Indian Ideals in Education, Philosophy and Religion and Art (*Kamala Lectures, 1924*), by Annie Besant, D.L., with a Foreword by the Hon'ble Sir Ewart Greaves, Kt. Demy 8vo pp. 135. 1925. Re. 1-8.

The lectures were delivered in the Calcutta University by Dr. Annie Besant under the auspices of the Kamala Lectureship established in memory of his beloved daughter by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I.

Philosophical Discipline (*Kamala Lectures, 1926*), by Mahamahopadhyay Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt. Demy 8vo pp. 179. 1928. Re. 1-8.

Contents: Chapter I—*Discipline in Indian Systems*—(*i*) General—(*ii*) Vedanta—(*iii*) Purva-Mimamsa and other 'Hindu' Systems—(*iv*) Buddhism and Jainism—(*v*) Upanishads: Synthesis of Indian Philosophy.

Chapter II—*Discipline in other Oriental Systems*—(*i*) Zoroastrianism—(*ii*) Mithraism—(*iii*) Taoism—(*iv*) Confucianism—(*v*) Egyptian Religion—(*vi*) Babylonian and Assyrian Religion—(*vii*) Judaism—(*viii*) Christianity—(*ix*) Islam.

Chapter III.—*Discipline in Western Philosophy*—Greece and Rome—Modern Philosophy—Conclusion.

Rationalism in Practice (*Kamala Lectures, 1932*), by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye. Demy 8vo pp. 99. Re. 1-8.

The lectures briefly discuss certain questions of general interest and are only intended to provoke thought in the younger generation.

Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals (*Kamala Lectures, 1929*), by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D. Demy 8vo pp. xix + 242. 1935. Rs. 2-8.

The thesis of the author is the evolutionary character of the moral ideals of Hindus as embodied and reflected in their sacred laws, customs, social life and conduct. He shows that the moral rules and ideals which have obtained among them have not been immutable and stationary, but have changed, and are bound to change, in the course of time in accordance with their social and economic environments. The need for such adaptation is stressed as an essential condition of life in the modern world. The author examines the defects and merits of Hinduism and the value of the contribution of Hindu thought to moral culture. He discusses the influence of the doctrine of Karma, the question of moral progress, the effect of the impact of Western ideas and culture upon Hindu ideals, the drift of modern forces and tendencies and their bearing upon the future outlook of Hindu society. The subject is treated throughout in the light of comparative thought and in a spirit of detachment. The author enforces his points by numerous references to parallel conceptions and practices in Western countries.

J. H. Muirhead (*Editor, Library of Philosophy*) : " I have read sufficient to appreciate its value for the understanding of the very interesting subject with which it deals. I have found the comparisons which the author makes between Hindu and Christian standards and practices particularly instructive......It seems to me extremely well written by one who has spared no pains to master the literature, both Eastern and Western, on the subject and I congratulate the press of Calcutta University on the production of so scholarly a work."

E. Westermarck (Finland) : " I have read it with great interest and profit; it is a gem which I am very happy to possess."

A. Berriedale Keith (University of Edinburgh) : " It is marked not merely by knowledge of Indian and western ethics, and critical judgment, but also by a sanity and humanity of judgment, which reveals how little in essentials we of the west and you of the east differ from one another......I am very glad that Indian ethics have received treatment by so admirably qualified hands."

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Mahamahopadhyay Dr. Ganganath Jha (Allahabad) : " The lectures are, of course, excellent and should be read with interest and benefit by all interested in the well-being of the country. It will dispel a great deal of misconception."

The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (Allahabad) : " Sir Sivaswamy Iyer is one of the most thoughtful writers and anything coming from his pen is bound to attract considerable attention. I have read considerable portions of this book since it arrived and admired the presentation of the subject a great deal."

The Times Literary Supplement (London) : " The thesis is full of interest and is treated with the knowledge of affairs and in the liberal spirit which Sir Sivaswamy has often displayed on public platforms and in the Legislative Assembly."

Vedanto Kesari (Madras), April, 1935 : " He sheds the light of a mature and scholarly mind on many intricate and vexed problems of Hindu ethics and has as ably defended the fundamental principles of Hindu morality from the charges of ignorant foreign critics as he has rescued it from the zeal of rigid orthodoxy."

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Prof. William Ernest Hocking (Harvard University) : " The very important contribution it makes in fields which are of special interest to me, the development of Hinduism and the relation between religion and government in India."

The History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, by B. M. Barua, M.A. (Cal.), D.Lit. (London). Royal 8vo pp. 468. 1921. Rs. 10-8.

The book gives a clear exposition of the origin and growth of Indian Philosophy from the Vedas to the Buddha, and seeks to evolve order out of chaos—to systematise the teachings of the various pre-Buddhistic sages and seers, scattered in Vedic literature (Vedas, Brahmanas, Upanishads) and in the works of the Jainas, the Ajivikas and the Buddhists.

Prof. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, M.A. : " The only book of its kind. No student of the Philosophy of Upanishads can afford to neglect it. The book shows accurate scholarship and deep insight on every page."

Bharatiya Madhya Yuge Sadhanar Dhara (*Adhar Mookerjee Lectures for 1928, in Bengali*), by Kshitimohan Sen, Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indian Religion and Mysticism, Visvabharati, Santiniketan, with a Foreword by Rabindranath Tagore. Demy 8vo pp. xvi + 135. Re. 1-8.

In this work the author has given for *the first time* an outline of the religious history of India during the Mussalman rule. He has criticised here the popular theory that India was acquired by Mahomedan invaders *merely* by means of the sword and has properly appreciated the part of the Moslem saints, orthodox as well as heterodox, in conquering India for Islam. This unique work is based principally on materials collected by the author from hundreds of religious shrines (including many obscure ones) visited by him during the last thirty years. Another feature of the work is that it reveals the natural love of spiritual matters on the part of the common people of India.

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Viswa-Vidyalayer Rup (*in Bengali*), Inaugural address delivered at the Calcutta University, by Rabindranath Tagore. Demy 8vo pp. 30. 1933. As. 8.

Sikshar Bikiran (*in Bengali*), by Rabindranath Tagore. Demy 8vo pp. 23. 1933. As. 8.

Manusher Dharma (*Kamala Lectures, 1930, in Bengali*), by Rabindranath Tagore. Demy 8vo pp. ix+119. 1933. Re. 1-8.

Sakti or Divine Power, by Sudhendukumar Das, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.). Demy 8vo pp. 310. 1934. Rs. 3-0.

An attempt has been made to trace the origin of the idea of Sakti as Divine Power from Jnān or the ' Mother-Goddesses ' of the Vedas and show how it developed through the speculations of the Brahmanas and the Upanishads and finally culminated into the Śvetasvatara conception of full-bodied philosophical principle of ' Supreme Divine Sakti ' belonging to God himself, hidden in his own qualities. It is an historical study based on original Sanskrit texts. It contains for the first time a thorough discussion on the philosophy of the Kashmere Trika School and that of the Lingayat School of Southern India from the texts both published and unpublished.

Sri Aurobindo and the Future of Mankind, by Adharchandra Das, M.A. Double Crown 16mo pp. 143. 1934. Re. 1-0.

The author has interwoven into a connected statement the contents of a number of articles contributed by Sri Aurobindo Ghosh, on the true meaning of Vedanta Philosophy and has presented his book in a very interesting and attractive manner.

" Mr. Adharchandra Das in the Four Chapters of his book gives us a sound and clear account of Aurobindo's main views, and points out incidentally that they are based on the central principles of Indian culture. We are all grateful to him for bringing together in a brief and accessible form the main teachings of Aurobindo Ghosh."—*Foreword*, Sir S. Radhakrishnan.

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"This little book of 130 pages is a competent study of the leading ideas of the well-known Indian philosopher and Yogi, Sri Aurobindo."—*Aryan Path.*

"It is a valuable contribution to the history of thought of present-day India and gives a clear and systematic account of the work of one of the great thinkers of our time."—*Dr. H. von Glasehagy, Königsburg, Germany.*

Ancient Indian Numismatics (*Carmichael Lectures*, 1921), by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University. Demy 8vo pp. 241. Rs. 4-14.

The book contains a course of lectures on Numismatics, a part of Archæology, delivered by the Professor in 1921. The subjects of the lectures are as follows:

I. Importance of the Study of Numismatics.
II. Antiquity of Coinage in India.
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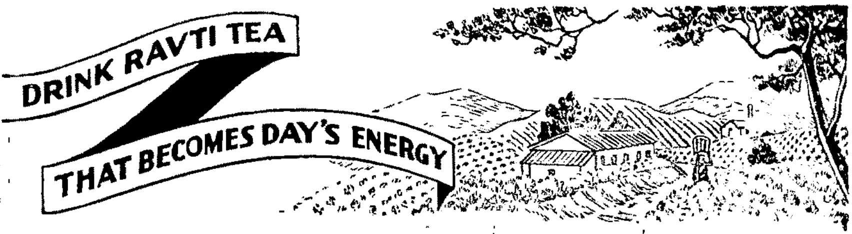
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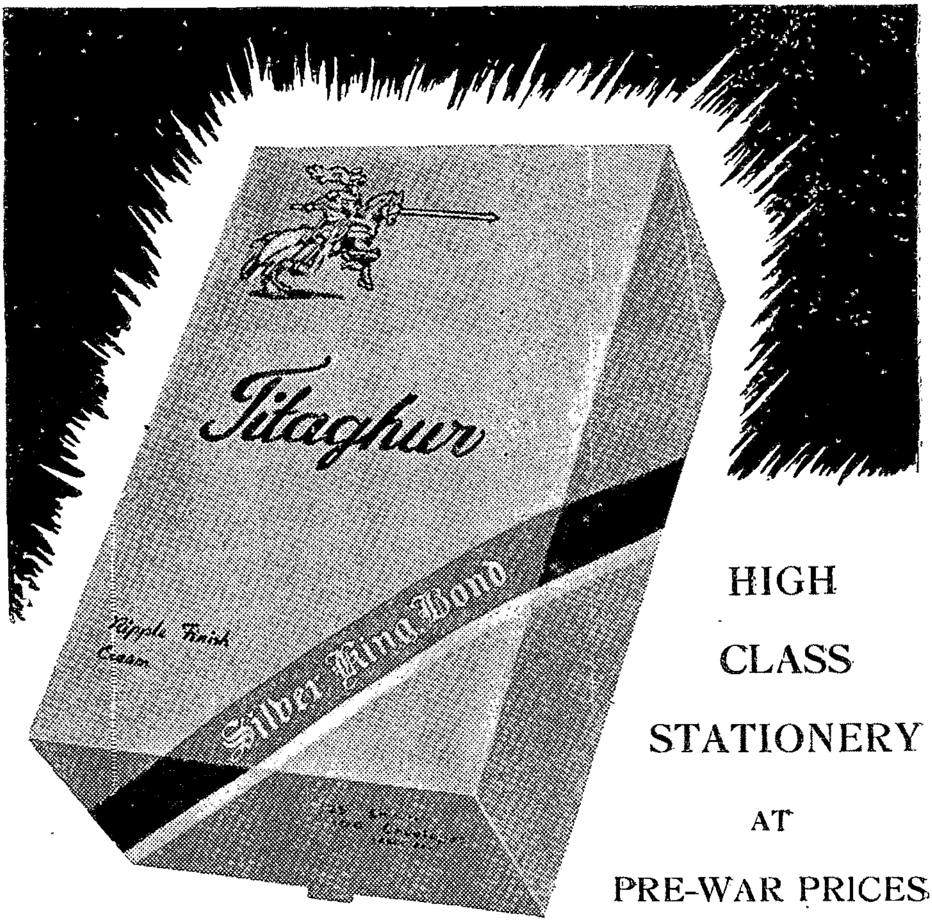

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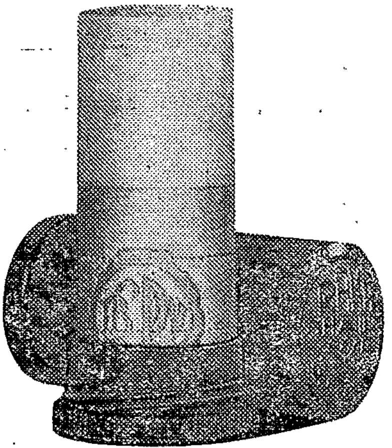

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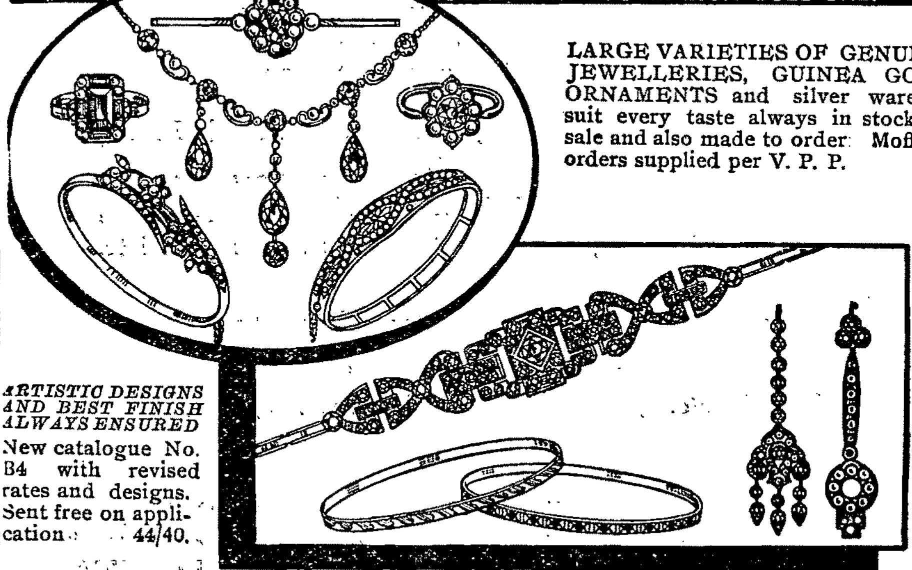

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SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

SIR P. C. RÂY, KT., AND BHABESHCHANDRA RAY, M.SC.

XVI

SHAKESPEARE AS REVISER OF PLAYS WRITTEN BY OTHERS—AUTHORSHIP OF THE TRILOGY OF *Henry VI* AND *Titus Andronicus*

LET us now take up the consideration one of the most puzzling, if not the most puzzling, of Shakespeare's plays, *Titus Andronicus*. It has been observed before[1] that this play was the work of Shakespeare and to explain the defects of the play the author of the article accepted the hypothesis that the play was written by the poet in his prentice stage. This view has indeed to be revised and after a careful study the present authors have come to an altogether different conclusion. At the very outset the authors would like to offer an apology for their change of views, and would submit that in the bewildering track of Shakespearean study one is very much prone to revision of one's opinion. An example connected with this very branch of study, and more particularly with the same play, may be found interesting. Dr. Richard Garnett believed Marlowe to be the author of *Titus Andronicus* and expressed his considered view to that effect. Subsequently when Robertson vivisected the play to find out the real author or authors and accredited it to the composite authorship of Peele and Greene, Dr. Garnett addressed a letter to Robertson wherein he mentioned that " I considered the original author to have been Marlowe, but you have convinced me that the play is more likely to have been the production of Peele and Greene." This is only to show that revision of opinion is not very uncommon in Shakespearean studies and the present authors may be excused if they have unavoidably been forced to follow the path which the noted critics have been forced occasionally to do.

---

[1] *Calcutta Review*, May, 1940.

Titus Andronicus is found to be first entered in the Stationers' Register in February, 1594. During the lifetime of Shakespeare this play saw as many as three quarto publications but nowhere was mentioned the name of the author neither its questionable abbreviation W.S., or W.Sh. Unlike many others this play has to its credit a number of external evidences which have made the problem all the more knotty. Let us consider these external evidences first. Henslowe records on April 2, 1592 a ' ne ' play, *Titus and Vespasian,* which Lord Strange's men played up to January, 1593. In 1594 Henslowe records another new play, *Titus Andronicus,* which was acted by the Lord Chamberlain's men. In 1614 Ben Jonson referred to *Andronicus* as a play produced these five and twenty or thirty years, so that the date of the play comes to be 1589 or 1584. Again Meres included this play in his 1598 list as Shakespeare's. Yet another reference, already quoted, to this play in 1687 by Ravenscroft need be mentioned. The reference is worthwhile considering once more. Ravenscroft reported a stage tradition that Shakespeare was not the author but a mere reviser of the play which came to his hands from a ' private author.'

In the early days of the rise of English dramas it was the tragedy of blood that was most appreciated by the public. " This tragedy of blood was a play which dealt with sanguinary theme and in which the author was seeking not so much to purge the souls of the spectators with terror as to shock their nerves with horror on horror's head accumulated."[1] This had, indeed, been responsible for the popularity of *Spanish Tragedy* and of *Titus Andronicus*. It is practically impossible to decide, after a lapse of more than three centuries, what share had our poet in the production of *Titus Andronicus*, but it is definite that there exists little and in fact very little likeness between *Titus Andronicus* and Shakespeare's any other genuine tragedy. This play fails, according to them, to give a single evidence in favour of Shakespearean touch ; it lacks in the marks of Shakespeare's creative genius, his delineation of character, his invigorating humour and exquisite pathos and the directness of his penetrating expression. This want of likeness has actuated many Shakespearean critics to deny the play to Shakespeare. Neither the structure nor the style comes up to the Shakespearean standard and the supporters of Shakespearean authorship of the play attempt a plausible answer to this variation. At the beginning Shakespeare, like almost every poet, exercised his pen by imitation—the outcome of his imitation of Marlowe is *Henry VI* and that of Kyd is *Titus Andronicus*. These critics would say that what is commonly known as Shakespearean is the ideal that we have set up from a study of his best plays. Brander Matthews holds that "it is only by resolutely refusing to look at the facts paraded before our eyes that we can assume an impeccable artist, moving steadily and inevitably towards and always availing himself of his marvellous psychologic insight and of his profound philosophic understanding we shall find it easier to admit also that although *Titus Andronicus* is plainly unworthy of him, it has an interest of its own, in that it shows us an inexpert Shakespeare working over old material without liberty of rejection."

---

[1] Introduction to *Titus Andronicus*, (Renaissance edition).

Critical readers would by no means fail to compare the arguments of both the schools of critics—the school preferring Shakespearean authorship and the school advocating non-Shakespearean authorship. Bellyse Baildon, a reputed critic of the present century, believes in Shakespeare's authorship of the play and argues:

"As a young author making his first essay in tragedy Shakespeare would naturally choose a theme which would find favour with an Elizabethan audience, and, as we shall see, nothing secured that, at the time he must have written *Titus Andronicus*, more easily than a plentiful supply of horrors, just as the sensation novel, the 'penny dreadful' and 'shilling shocker' attract the multitude now."[1]

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[1] Introduction to *Titus Andronicus* (Arden Shakespeare).

It has already been pointed out that this play contains too many classical and mythological references and the abundance of all these has been regarded by many as a convincing argument against a Shakespearean composition of the piece. They would rather prefer to attribute the play to the University wits who were both eager and fit to exhibit the depth of their knowledge of classical tongues. In a previous communication a number of classical quotations from this play has been cited to show our poet's attainment in the tongue. Here we may cite from *Titus Andronicus* a select few which, though written in English, refer either to some mythological allusion or are English renderings of some Latin authors. For example we have:

> " Why sufferst thou thy sons, unburied yet,
> To hover on the dreadful shore of Styx ? "

which can be compared well with *Aeneid*, VI, 325-29, " Hæc omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba est :......Centum errant annos valitantque hæc litora circum "

> " The selfsame gods that arm'd the queen of Troy
> With opportunity of sharp revenge
> Upon the Thracian tyrant in his tent "

which is a reminiscence of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, XIII, 430-575, which describes how Hecuba, Queen of Troy, inveighed into " a secret place " and killed " the Thracian King " Polymnester, who had previously slain her son Polydorous. A close study of the play would amply demonstrate how far its author went to refer to the classical events and the present authors would not like to quote too many of them. The single myth of Philomel has been referred to very often in this play. Philomel was the unfortunate sister of Progne and was ravished by Tereus, the husband of the latter. Tereus was not only licentious but also cruel and cut the tongue of Philomel so that she might not disclose her misfortune to anybody. The full story was described in Latin by Ovid in his *Metamorphosis* and in English in *Palace of Pleasure* and Grascoign's *Complaynt of Philomene*, both published in the year 1576. The author of *Titus Andronicus* refers to this allusion more than once in the same play,[1] *e.g.*

> " His Philomel must lose her tongue to day "
> " But, sure, some Terius hath deflowered thee "

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[1] *Cf.* Act II, Sc. 4; Act IV, Sc. 1; Act V, Sc; 2, etc.

"A craftier Terius, cousin, hast thou met,
And he hath cut those pretty fingures off
That could have better sewed than Philomel" etc.

"This is the tragic tale of Phiomel,
and treats of Tereus' treason and his rape."

There is a reference to this very event in *Cymbeline*, one of Shakespeare's acknowledged productions. Another quotation of this very type may be found interesting:

"Had I the power that some say Dian had,
Thy temples should be planted presently
With horns, as was Actæon's and the hounds
Should drive upon thy new transformed limbs,
Unmannerly intruder as thou art."

Ovid gave the story as to how Actæon the huntsman was transformed into a stag by Diana and the aforesaid lines are reminiscent of the allusion. Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor* contains a reference to this story.[1]

Those who advocate the non-Shakespearean theory hold the frequency of this type of mythological and classical allusions a sufficient proof in support of their hypothesis but this is not indeed sufficient. If anybody cares to scrutinise the literary history of the play he would surely find that there were several works, "bookes," plays, ballads, and what not, telling the story of the mythical *Titus Andronicus*; these works being drawn from some original, now lost or unknown, and this original might have been an Italian or Spanish collection of tales. The source play is not traceable at the present day and necessarily cannot be compared with the play at our hand. In this connection one may be interested to note what the early editors hold. Theobald declared that "the story we are to suppose merely fictitious. Andronicus is a surname of pure Greek origin. Tamora is neither mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, nor anybody else that I can find. Nor had Rome, in the time of her emperors, any war with the Goths that I know of: not till after the translation of the empire, I mean to Byzantium. And yet the scene of the play is laid at Rome, and Saturninus is elected to the empire at capitol." But if we do not hesitate to accept such a source play the present writers see no reason to deny such a one—they should not shrink from accepting that the references came directly from that and there is no reason why Shakespeare should be thought incompetent to assimilate and reproduce them. In fact almost all the plays produced by Shakespeare have been adopted from running plays, poems, books, and ballads and it has been already shown how the adaptation and the adapted tally at places. There has actually been discovered a ballad on the subject-matter of the play but expert opinion suggests that the date of composition of the ballad cannot be earlier than 1603. If we read Theobald's remarks with Ben Jonson's "five and twenty or thirty years" we must come to the conclusion that between 1584 and 1589 Shakespeare, not yet fully conversant with the English stage, produced a play which had a novel plot not adapted from elsewhere and gained unquestionable popularity. This seems rather unnatural. One has to conclude, therefore, that *Titus Andronicus* passing in our poet's name must have been a play adapted from some source play. The author of this source play might as well be the 'private-author' whom 'some anciently conversant with the stage' might have referred to. Thus probabilities being considered this argument cannot be regarded as sufficiently convincing for denying Shakespeare the authorship of the play.

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[1] Act II, Sc. 1.]

Those who are in favour of allotting the play to Shakespeare's pen mainly stand on two arguments—weighty arguments indeed, *viz.*, the inclusion of the piece in Mere's list of 1598 and the reproduction of the same in Hemminge and Condell's Folio collection. In 1598 Shakespeare was an author of established fame and many books were falsely fathered upon him. There is no wonder then if Ravenscroft's private author was following the fashion of the time and with the hope of making money was giving the entire credit of the production of the play to Shakespeare. Thus the popular notion most likely had been that *Titus Andronicus* was a play of Shakespeare and Meres might have reciprocated the same view when he included the play in his famous list. Thus Robertson, who has made a close study of the problem, would dismiss Mere's entry on the plea that "the list of Meres is simply an outsider's report derived from the theatre."[1] There was no critical study of this or any other play at the time and we cannot by any means blame Meres for being non-critical in his presentation. Thus Meres can be argued to be wrong, and if by the process of argument we can flout this proof we can well assail the other, namely, the authenticity of Folio version. The private author must have been not a very important playwright of the time, for had he been so we could have traced him in some other play. This unimportant author was actually buried in oblivion when the Folio editors began their work and on a *bona fide* belief they included this in Shakespearean publications. This may indeed be considered an argument too much far-fetched but if we continue our search from line to line in the play we may be satisfied that though apparently far-fetched this argument may be thought admissible.

So far as Mere's list is concerned it must not be forgotten, as Robertson points out, that "on the face of the case, the argument from Meres is habitually overstrained. On no clear ground can we say that a bare ascription by him counts for much more than an ascription by a contemporary publisher. With respect to the authenticity of the 1st Folio one has to remember that the Folio editors have depreciated, so to say, the real value of their publication by their inclusion of *Henry VIII* which has been admittedly a joint production of Shakespeare and Fletcher.

In the next article we shall try to read carefully what the text of *Titus Andronicus* points to.

(To be continued)

INDIA'S FUNDAMENTAL INDUSTRIES

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BETWEEN 1931 and 1941 the population of India is expected to go up to the extent of about 50 million which means that 5 million have to be absorbed every year somewhere. So long the majority of Indian's children have been absorbed by the rural areas and so far as one can judge, these will have to stay in the countryside and earn a living there. There is no likelihood that this extra population can be absorbed in large-scale industries even if we are in a position to introduce industrialisation on an extensive scale.

An alarming feature is the gradual increase in the number of landless agricultural labourers. In 1901 it was 33 million; in 1911 it was 40 million, in 1921 42 million, in 1931 45 million. These figures are approximate.

Two very obvious methods which remain open to relieve congestion are emigration and irrigation. So far as the former is concerned, we are aware that to-day Indians, even as coolies, are not wanted anywhere outside India. On the other hand, they are compelled to come back to their motherland. So far as an increase in the amount of cultivable land through irrigation is concerned, all that we can expect is that in certain parts of India it will, for the time being, check the economic evil effects of an ever-growing population. We should remember that there is a limit to the area which can be improved by irrigation and relief through this agency must end once all such areas have received facilities for irrigation. It follows therefore that so long as this extreme dependence on agriculture continues, any increase in the area of cultivable land will relieve our distress only temporarily.

Improved methods of intensive cultivation which may be regarded as the third method will have the effect of increasing the total output of food, thus relieving the evil effects of over-population only when the people adopt them. This again will be possible only when they are literate. We all know that after more than 150 years of British rule, the percentage of literacy in India in 1931 was 8·1 only. This is why the Congress has been laying such emphasis on the abolition of illiteracy and propaganda for improved agricultural methods. If this can be carried through to a successful issue all over India, our supply of available food may be increased, but, even then, there can be no prosperity in the economic sense so long as the masses have to depend on agriculture as practically the one means for their support.

Another fact which has to be taken into account is our rural indebtedness. This problem has engaged the attention of our economists and administrators for over half a century. Steps have no doubt been taken to improve the credit system and the banking machinery of the country, in spite of which the incidence of debt is continuing to mount. The Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee in their report published in 1931 stated that no improvement could be expected without raising the standard of living and the economic condition of the masses and " building up their productive strength." It went on to say that " a potent factor which contributed to the extreme economic weakness of the Indian agriculturist was the inadequacy of subsidiary occupations to supplement the peasant's slender income from agriculture."

The Committee on Co-operation in Mysore State towards the end of 1936 after a careful investigation came to the conclusion that while there has been a considerable increase in the population living on the land, there has not been a corresponding increase in production. It offers some very significant observations to which I would draw the attention of every one. This body of experts held that the distress of the rural masses has been aggravated by the fact that those cottage industries which formerly used to enable the cultivator and the members of his family to earn some money in the off-season have been destroyed by competition from machine-made goods. The agriculturist has enough time at his disposal to pursue one or other of these small industries at home but he does not engage in them as the market for them has been lost. At the same time, though his income has been reduced, " he goes on parting with his cash for the purchase of his daily needs," which, naturally enough, impoverishes him still more.

It is not correct to hold that large-scale manufacture will afford any appreciable relief, for while factories increase in number, there is no corresponding increase in the number of those employed. To prove this I may refer to one instance only. In 1928, we had 7,823 factories which employed roughly 15 lakhs 20 thousand hands. Next year, there were 8,029 frctories giving employment to approximately 15 lakhs 53 thousand labourers. In other words, the extra 206 factories provided work for about 33 thousand extra workers. This was a smaller increase than the pre-war average of 40 thousand yearly and was due to the use of improved machinery, the adoption of a more efficient organisation and the starting of very large-scale factories in which division of work was carried on to the furthest possible limits, a combination which cannot but lead to a smaller demand for labour.

In fact, those qualified to make pronouncements on a matter like this maintain that large-scale factories can, at most, be expected to give employment to the additions now going on to the population of the urban areas. It thus follows that large-scale industries will never produce work for the constantly increasing landless population. Similarly, the agriculturist will not be able to profit much by the development of industries on a large scale for he cannot withdraw from his fields for long and continuous periods of time for work elsewhere.

Under these circumstances, it is only too probable that unless vigorous steps are taken in time, pressure on land will never be relieved and our motherland will gradually be reduced to something like a rural slum where our countrymen will continue to lead a more and more sub-normal life ; where hunger and nakedness will be the rule and where man will ultimately go back to a brutal existence. Such an India would be a curse to herself and a menace to the rest of the world.

Employment will therefore have to be found not only for the landless agriculturists referred to above but also for the rural masses who are engaged in the work of cultivation. We must think of the millions of peasants who have to remain idle for at least six months in the year. Mahatma Gandhi, with his clear insight into essentials which is surely the gift of God, pointed out unerringly the solution of this problem when he quoted the following lines from the Census Report of 1921, Vol. I, Part I, Chapter XII, p. 271 :

"The bulk of the population is agricultural, and Indian agriculture involves very hard work for certain short periods and almost complete inactivity for the rest of the year. These periods of inactivity are, in the great majority of cases, spent in idleness. But where the cultivator pursues some craft which will employ him and his family at times when they are not required in the fields—a craft in which continuity of employment is not essential, the proceeds of that craft are a saving from waste and therefore a clear gain."

OUR FUNDAMENTAL INDUSTRIES

If, as Mahatma Gandhi seems to hold, cottage industries are the only satisfactory solution of unemployment under Indian conditions, one would like to know what types of cottage industry should be encouraged. We are aware that, in the old days, India exported large amounts of artistic specimens of handicrafts which commanded a ready sale outside India and also among the aristocracy in our country. While there is undoubtedly room for cottage industries of this type, there is not the slightest doubt that, profitable as they are, they must enjoy a limited patronage and will provide work for comparatively small numbers of workers.

In order that our masses may have work in their millions it is necessary that the cottage industries in which they engage themselves should supply the primary needs of life, of which the two most important are food and clothing. As India is a very poor country, we might profitably add to the cottage industries coming under these heads others which will use as raw materials things which are available in almost every village, which are not ordinarily utilised in any way and which are in fact being wasted at present. It may be added here that the policy which has been implemented by Mahatma Gandhi through the All-India Spinners' Association and the All-India Village Industries Association is based upon these fundamental ideas.

The wisdom underlying the adoption of this plan is evident when we remember that, in this way, we can utilise the raw materials available in India and produce articles which are consumed inside India. The position would be better if each and every part of India could manufacture articles out of raw materials produced locally and if they were consumed locally. By doing so, the agriculturist could find a ready market close to his own home and could thus be saved from exploitation by middlemen who generally manage to interpose themselves, of course to their own profit, between the products direct to the consumers enjoying thus an opportunity of deriving the largest amount of benefit from their labours.

THE UTILISATION OF WASTE MATERIALS

Among the three types of cottage industries to which I have just referred, I shall deal first of all with some of those which are intended to utilise raw materials available in practically every village and which are being wasted to-day because we do not know how to utilise them profitably. It is not perhaps known to many that every year in India 30 million cattle die of some kind of disease. We have to remember also that there are millions of goats, pigs, sheep, buffaloes, etc., which are slaughtered for food. Similarly we must think of other animals such as mules, donkeys, dogs, etc., which die every year. It is not of course correct to assume that 100 per cent of the skins and carcases of these animals are being utilised to the best possible advantage.

Mahatma Gandhi and his lieutenants, always on the look-out to assist those for whom no one cares and nobody thinks, are teaching Harijans, Chamars, etc., improved methods of flaying, making glue from the fleshings, fat from the entrails, gut from the intestines, manure from the blood and the flesh, bone-meal and bone-dust from the bones. Easy methods of tanning, the making of foot-wear and other leather goods are also being taught. The headquarters of the All-India Village Industries Association at Maganvade, close to Wardha, is the place where the greatest progress seems to have been made. Under the inspiration of Gandhi, Brahmin, Bania, Chamar and Harijan youngmen and boys are being trained in all these processes and then going back to their homes in order to teach them to others.

It is held that, with the introduction of the Vidyamandir, the Wardha and the Basic Education schemes, and the almost universal campaign against illiteracy, there will be a larger demand not only for books, slates and slate pencils but also for paper. With the gradual spread of education, a larger number of people will take to writing letters, keeping memoranda, accounts, etc. National India holds that it is not at all desirable that the villagers should be compelled to spend any part, however small, of their very small earnings on these items. On the other hand, they should be taught, as far as possible, to supply their own needs in these as in other directions. It is therefore that a special process has been evolved, by following which hand-made paper from leaves, old clothes and other waste material available in every village can be easily manufactured.

No one can have any doubt that even though unemployment on any extensive scale cannot be solved by industries of this particular type, they have a very big future before them and once they are practised on a large scale, they will give work to many a man who is without it to-day.

THE PROVISION OF WHOLESOME FOOD-STUFFS

During the period that the different Congress cabinets were in office, the cottage industries which received great encouragement are those concerned with the provision of pure and healthy food, durable clothing, healthy homes, medical aid, sanitation, etc. The methods recommended were those which have stood the test of time and actual experience. I made a study of these cottage industries in the course of my visits to all the provinces of British India except Sind and the North-West Frontier, and I think I am in a position to state that everywhere the efforts put forth have, on the whole, been successful. I made an attempt to give a detailed survey of these cottage industries in an article contributed to the *Calcutta Review* a few month ago. On this occasion, I intend to confine myself to only a few items among them.

But before doing so, I should like to remind every Indian that the total amount of food produced in India is between 60 and 70 million tons. From this we have to deduct about 10 million tons for seed, for feeding cattle, for export and for wastage. The available balance, when divided by the population of India in 1931, amounting roughly to 352 million, leaves less than one pound daily per each head of population. It is said that the population of India will be about 400 million by 1941. Unless there is a very appreciable increase in our output of food, the amount available daily per each head of population will be a little more than half a pound. Such a small quantity can hardly be regarded as adequate.

Dr. Radha Kamal Mookerjee, Head of the Department of Economics and Sociology, Lucknow University, in his recently published book "Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions" has come to the very definite and at the same time disquieting conclusion that "India has now fallen short of food for 48 millions of her average men, provided that agricultural seasons are normal and droughts and floods do not occur." Taking it for granted that we shall all along enjoy normal conditions which can by no means be expected, these 48 million average men will either have to die of sheer starvation or the rest of the population of India will have to give away part of its food in order to keep them alive. This is what is actually happening everywhere in our motherland, with the result that many are underfed.

Sir John Megaw who retired as Surgeon-General of India was referring to this aspect of the matter when he said that, in his opinion, only 39 per cent. of the population of India are well-nourished. The implication of this statement of course is that 61 per cent among Indians are not well-nourished.

But the average Indian suffers not only from what one may rightly describe as semi-starvation but he also misses in the small quantity of food he consumes some of those important mineral salts and vitamins without which his health is bound to be impaired. It was therefore that, under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, not only did the different Congress cabinets encourage the use of improved agricultural methods and specially intensive cultivation to increase the output of food but they also took steps to see that the people were ensured a supply of wholesome food.

This explains why the different Congress cabinets so long as they were in office sought the assistance of the All-India Village Industries Association and encouraged the use of improved rice-husking implements and bullock-driven flour mills and oil-crushing *ghanis*. All these being cheap are within the means of the ordinary villager and combine maximum output with minimum exertion. To-day, unpolished rice, wholemeal flour and pure mustard and other edible vegetable oils are to be had at prices which compete favourably with similar machine-made products which are not always unadulterated. Then again, cheap devices for making *gur* out of date, palm, palmyra and cocoanut juice contrived by the engineers connected with this organisation are in use in many parts of India. Improved methods of catching and preserving fish have been introduced in some fishing centres situated on the coast of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. The Bihar, the U. P. and the C. P. Congress governments took steps to popularise improved methods of pisciculture in their tanks and rivers. These are providing and will continue to provide increasing amounts of cheap and healthy food for the masses and will also help the fishermen who belong to the Harijan class to increase their earnings.

The report of the All-India Village Industries Association does not give any figures regarding the number of those who are supporting themselves by following cottage industries of this type. But we have to remember that the demand for what we call "matural" and unadulterated food is on the increase and that with every day that passes there will be greater opportunities for those who devote themselves to work of this kind.

KHADDAR AND MASS UNEMPLOYMENT

With that keen insight into essentials which characterises our greater national leader, Mahatma Gandhi has emphasised again and again the fact that the best method of relieving the poverty of the cultivator who forms the backbone of our economic organisation is to provide him with some kind of remunerative subsidiary occupation which should be of such a character as to give employment to the largest number of people possible, which can be taken up and laid down at any moment and which does not require any expensive implements to carry it on. He knew and we now know that hand-spinning meets all these requirements. It was therefore that Gandhiji gave prominence to the khadi programme and, what is more, fixed Ahmedabad as the headquarters of the All-India Spinners' Association. The fact that this town is one of the largest centres of the cotton mill industry as well as the headquarters of this organization leads me to think that it is more than likely that hand-spun and hand-woven cotton fabrics, so long as they are confined within well-defined limits, will continue to flourish side by side with machine-made cotton stuff. It is also well-known that spinning and weaving practised as cottage industries have, next to agriculture, given work to the largest number of people from times immemorial. It is significant that, even to-day, in spite of the extensive use of machine-made cotton stuff, they have not as yet lost that distinction for, according to the latest available Census report, spinning and weaving were followed by about a million in India in 1931.

So long I have not given any facts in support of my contention that cottage industries if properly organised are a valuable method of combating unemployment I shall now refer to what was actually done in 1938 by the All-India Spinners' Association. As is well-known this organisation, with its headquarters at Ahmedabad and branches in every part of India, has undertaken the task of having certified and registered spinners, weavers and artisans all engaged in the production of pure khadi. That year, this organisation gave regular employment to 2 lakh 32 thousand spinners, about 19 thousand certified and registered weavers and 6 thousand 8 hundred certified and registered artisans. Therefore the total number of certified and registered workers employed by this one association only was 3 lakh 8 thousand and these earned as wages Rs. 39 lakh 20 thousand.

Before I leave this point, I ought to remind my readers that the 3 lakh 8 thousand workers employed by the All-India Spinners' Association are a part only of those engaged in the manufacture of khaddar. There are many organisations, business men, etc , having no connection myself with saying that all people employed both by the All-India Spinners' Association and by the other organisations would not have found employment but for the impetus given to the movement by our great national leader. After this, who will say that cottage industries are not at least a partial solution of the problem of unemployment ! They may not offer handsome amounts to those who follow them but there is little doubt that if pursued honestly and steadfastly, they can yield a regular and humble income and that is all that can be expected in a poor country like India where the national income, as proved elsewhere, is not more than Rs. 50 per head per year.

According to the estimate of the League of Nations, the average amount of cloth consumed per year *per capita* for the whole world is 30 square yards. India consumes about 11 square yards per head per year whence the half-naked condition of her children. If we take 18 square yards *per capita* per year as the minimum amount which ought to be consumed in order that every one may be clothed decently, it follows that our annual requirement in this particular direction is 720 crore yards. It has been stated that the available labour supply in India is 125 million, of whom about 40 million are unemployed. According to the estimate of M. Kishorelal Mashruwala, Ex-President of the Gandhi Seva Sangh, who has made a careful and exhaustive study of this problem, 15 million full-time workers will be required all through the year to produce India's annual demand of 720 crore yards of cotton stuff. If the manufacture of khaddar is followed as a part-time occupation, the production of this amount will require 3 hours' daily work from 7 crore people. At the average rates now paid by the All-India Spinners' Association the daily wages for this work will be 84 lakh 25 thousand.

These figures which have been carefully scrutinised by many experts and found to be correct clearly prove the amount of money we could literally pour into our countryside and the extent to which we could remove unemployment by adopting Gandhiji's khaddar programme.

KHADDAR AND NATIONAL ECONOMY

The only argument which remains to be answered is that the cost of khaddar is high, in fact almost high enough to be prohibitive.

It may be argued with a certain show of logic that, in these days of competitive prices and low incomes, it is not wise to pay more than what one is compelled to do, specially when we take into account the poverty of India. As against this, we have the very important fact that even when we patronise Indian mill-made cloth, it is the Indian capitalist who is benefited to a larger extent than the Indian labourer. We have to decide whether by patronising Indian mills we are really helping the masses. It has however to be remembered that it is expected that a majority will provide their own requirements in the way of clothing and sell what they do not need for themselves. As for those who do not wish to spin they will have to buy their khaddar and it is more than probable that they will belong to the well-to-do classes who can afford this extra expense. These latter should not hasitate to incur some extra expenditure, specially when the object is improvement in the economic condition of our masses.

SOME PROMISING COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

We know that modern rice and flour mills and oil-crushing factories have nearly killed the age-old cottage industries of wheat- and rice-milling and oil crushing, added to which is the fact that the white flour and polished rice produced by them are deprived of certain essential vitamins and mineral salts. Allt hese are adulterated either by unscrupulous mill-owners or by the middlemen who stand between the producers and the actual consumers. I have described already how this problem is being tackled by the All-India Village Industries Association. Then again, our village blacksmiths used to supply all our requirements in the way of agricultural implements such as spades, pick-axes, crow-bars, hammers, etc., but competition from foreign and Indian firms which have specialised in their manufacture on the factory scale has driven them off the field. These people have taken to agriculture not as cultivators enjoying some kind of right over the land they cultivate but either as tenants-at-will or as landless labourers. I quite appreciate the fact that before the home-made implements can hope to command an extensive market which will include such large buyers as the Railways, the Public works, and other politica l Departments, District Boards, Municipalities, etc., they will have to be standardised, and improved methods and probably machinery used for their manufacture. But this, in my view, does not present insurmountable difficulties.

Certain kinds of cotton, silk and even woollen textiles, soap, cutlery, brass and copper ware, enamel work, hosiery, twine, rope, durri, carpet and blanket weaving, may be classified under cottage industries and given protection by legislation against mass production by large-scale factories till they are sufficiently developed. If we insist on protection in order to foster the development of industries like iron, textiles and sugar, National India finds no reason why cottage industries should not claim protection not only against foreign but also against internal competition from large scale Indian factories. Every one familar with conditions prevailing in rural India is aware that the handicrafts practised even now are nearly as numerous as they were a century ago, the only difficulty is that, owing to competition with factory made articles, our artisans are not getting remunerative prices for them. As a natural consequence, these are languishing and may ultimately disappear altogether. India is not in a position to allow this. If once cheap power is made available in every part of India—and it may be said parenthetically that, efforts to this end are being put forth in nearly every province—it would not be difficult to organise the different cottage industries on improved lines with the help of electrically powered small machines. By doing so, the cost of production would be diminished and at the same time the finish improved so that they would be able to compete with their factory-made rivals on equal terms. But it is too much to expect that, at least at the beginning, they can be marketed as cheaply as the products of large factories.

PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT OF EDUCATED YOUTHS*

MR. NALINI RANJAN SARKER

BROADLY speaking, unemployment is a problem of maladjustment, and is brought about by a host of causes, both subjective and objective. Among the objective causes is the fact that the industry, trade, commerce and agriculture of the country are yet far from fully developed, so that the absorption of an increasing number of young men in the diversified activities associated with a properly developed industry, trade, commerce and agriculture is not possible. Yet another objective factor is the inadequacy of the developmental programmes of Government in the extension of social services, health schemes, housing schemes, sanitary services, expansion of education, etc. The activities and efforts of the Government are still rather insignificant. Developments in these directions will naturally bring in their chain many employments in which educated young men could be absorbed. While this has been the position in regard to the scope of employment, there has been a disproportionately great increase in the number of educated youths coming out of the Universities in comparison with the growth of economic opportunities; in short, avenues of new employment have failed to keep pace with the increase in the number of those wanting employment. The subjective causes, on the other hand, are some of the unwholesome traditions of our society which incline people to consider certain types of work, such as manual work, undignified and tend to create caste groups and thereby destroy the easy mobility of people from profession to profession. Attraction for service of any sort whether in Government, private firms or in liberal professions, a craze for ownership of land, to which was attached a sense of prestige and security, and disinclination towards undertaking the risk of investment in business and industry, have also been subjective factors which have operated to narrow down the scope for employment in Bengal in particular. In this category we must also include the lack of any planning in our education and the training given to the young men so as to enable them to adjust themselves to the changing requirements of the existing opportunities of employment or the changing requirements of our society as a whole. While many of the subjective causes spring from an attitude of mind steeped in past traditions, but can, if we only will, be brought under control, a solution of the objective causes would not be so easy to find, at least very early or immediately in the prevailing state of things.

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The seriousness of the problem of the educated unemployed and its far-reaching consequences are matters which must above all be clearly appreciated if we are to understand this problem. The total number of educated unemployed, though small when compared to the vast numbers of our rural agricultural population, nevertheless, presents a serious social problem on account of the deleterious moral and psychological effects of such unemployment. Of all the disadvantages of prolonged unemployment in youth, the worst are the disappointment and the demoralization which ensue on this enforced idleness and the more or less complete wreck of psychological aspirations and hopes. This is an aspect of the problem which one must very thoroughly appreciate in order to realise the grievous consequences with which the problem is fraught. One may give you figures and statistics about unemployment, one may enter into a dispassionate analysis of cause and effect: but what one must realise above all things is that behind the statistical tables, behind the analysis of cause and effect, there lies the misery of a whole generation, the "utter despair of thousands and thousands of parents who saved and slaved a lifetime to give their children an education, only to see them in the end unemployed, very often broken in body and spirit; and the impotent wrath and slow demoralisation of promising young men, loaded with degrees and certificates, to whom society denies the opportunity to put to any use their gifts and their knowledge." It is against this background that you must view the problem in order to appreciate its seriousness and its far-reaching effects. In our own case, I mean in Bengal, there are additional factors which increase the gravity of the problem. For, in Bengal, of all the classes affected by unemployment, none has been so badly hit as the *Bhadrolog* or middle-classes of the Province, and it is to this class that the Province owes much of its culture and enlightenment and many of the noblest qualities of our race. The middle-classes form, in fact, the centre *bloc* in society from which all reforms and idealism flow, who are the depositories of all culture and constitute the stable elements in the society. Anything that impairs their working capacity and maims their initiative and constructive ability would be the most serious disaster for society as a whole. When, therefore, members of such an important class go begging for employment from door to door and meet with refusals everywhere, I shudder to think of the terrible confusion which this state of affairs may lead to, if allowed to continue much longer.

Unemployment exists not among the educated middle-classes only, but among agriculturists and among artisans as well. But Nature in this country being very bounteous, the problem among these latter classes is not so much one of unemployment but rather one of under-employment accompanied by extreme poverty. In all countries where peasants and artisans form a large proportion of the population the main problem is one of poverty, the removal of which naturally is the only way to bring about economic well-being. Nevertheless, the problem of unemployment or under-employment among these sections of our population is also a serious problem, and it is also in its effects connected with the problem of unemployment among the educated middle-classes; for, if the problem of unemployment or under-employment among agriculturists, artisans and industrial labourers eases, if their purchasing power increases, in the process the problem of the educated unemployed will also ease; for the prosperity of agriculturists and labourers provides sustenance to numerous professions and economic activities in which the educated sections of the community are largely engaged. If in my talk to you to-day I do not deal with the problem of unemployment of agricultural and industrial labourers but confine myself only to unemployment of the Educated, it is not because the former is not urgent or serious or interconnected with the latter, but because the time at my disposal is short.

Much anxious discussion has centred round the problem of the Educated unemployed; committees have from time to time been appointed to investigate into this problem, but a systematic treatment of the malady with a really comprehensive approach does not appear to have been undertaken so far. We have a vague notion about its growing magnitude and seem to grope for its remedies. If the problem is to be tackled systematically, one of the first essentials is to have a census of the unemployed, at least a workable idea of the magnitude of the problem. It is only when such data are available that it is possible to estimate how far and in what manner our existing resources and our present economic organisation may be used or adjusted for a solution of the outstanding problem. I realise there are difficulties in compiling such a census, especially in ascertaining who are really unemployed and who are probably only partially so. Nevertheless, some workable idea of the extent of unemployment of the educated youths is necessary if the problem is to be systematically grappled with.

Even if there should be no developmental deficiencies in trade, industry, commerce and agriculture to which I have referred already in reference to unemployment in this country, unemployment may and will very often arise. For, one must bear in mind that unemployment is not a problem in itself but an aspect of a much wider question of maladjustments in the economic system. These maladjustments may arise from such causes as decline in prices, shrinkage in demand or other changes in production, which in their turn may be governed or caused by such factors as changes in rates of interest, new inventions and discoveries, government policies, etc. It should, therefore, be evident that as economic conditions or stages of economic development differ from country to country, the problem of unemployment cannot also have the same connotation and denotation in all countries. For this reason, those who advocate the adoption of remedial or relief measures adopted in other countries, as for example, the method of unemployment insurance which is in vogue in Western countries, apparently do so without giving much thought to the material difference in the character of unemployment in India and in the West. The conditions of employment in the highly industrialized countries are different in many essential respects from those prevalent in this country. The problem in Western countries is largely one of industrial unemployment and the unemployment is also generally temporary in character, being the result of cyclical trade and industrial depressions. Only in recent years were these countries presented with a comparatively larger body of permanently unemployed persons as a result of the Great Depression. All the Governments, however, bestowed their serious thoughts on this problem and instituted various measures for tackling it, of which the most important has been public works expansion. War clouds and the demands of a rearmament programme have since then effectively resolved the problem of unemployment in most of these countries. However, speaking generally, it may be stated that in these countries the problem has mostly been to find employment or relief for those workers who previously had employment, but were unfortunately thrown out of job. But in India, in Bengal in particular, the problem is more or less of a permanent character, because the unemployment arises as a result of certain socio-economic maladjustments. The problem is to find careers for young men who are employable, but have not had any employment at all. The problem arises because trained and educated young men are coming out of the Universities in increasingly larger numbers, but our economic structure and organisation and public administration have not developed and progressed at an equal pace so as to be able to absorb many of them.

As for a solution of this complex problem of unemployment in the country, there can obviously be no single specific remedy. If there be any attempt to resolve it, it should necessarily comprise a series of attempts planned and consistently pursued on different fronts of the economic system; otherwise the ramifications of the problem in many spheres will remain unmapped and untouched, and consequently the solution of the problem will be partial and fragmentary and not radical or thorough.

The problem of the educated unemployed is not to be solved by the efforts of any single agency, be it the Government or any other body. It is not a social malady that could be effectively cured by a system of doles. It is a disease which can be removed gradually only through the growth and diversification of our social and economic life. As social services are extended and intensified, as new wants arise and claim satisfaction, and as in order to satisfy those demands and to provide the increased social services, new machineries are created, in that complex process more and more of educated youths will find an increasing scope for useful employment. But this growth and diversification cannot be expected to come as mere accidents; instead, they require to be fostered and promoted by the State and the community as part of a well-conceived economic plan. That is the way in which we may expect a satisfactory solution of this problem.

In many of the civilised countries of the West industrialisation has reached its highest peak and developmental activities of the

State have progressed very much farther than in backward countries like ours. Looking at things exclusively from the point of view of facility for tackling the problem of unemployment, one may say that compared to those Western countries, India stands in a position of advantage, so far as opportunities for creating new machineries for gainful employment are concerned. The very fact that our country is backward means that we have considerable scope for an extension of the social and economic services that would remove the accumulated deficiencies of the past. The extent of our illiteracy is appalling: which means that we require schemes for the extension of primary education for boys and girls and for removing the accumulated illiteracy among the adults. And this necessarily means that we shall require thousands and thousands of educated young men to work these schemes not merely as teachers but in various other capacities. The health and sanitary arrangements in our rural areas are extremely poor; which means that we require many more dispensaries, with the necessary staff, a better and far more thorough health service than we have at present. Similarly, our villages require an extension of the co-operative movement, both credit and general. The improvement of transport services throughout the country, road construction and housing schemes, improvement of cattle, dairy farming, etc., are yet other directions in which the scope for developmental work is immense. Much, again, remains to be done for increasing the productivity of our agriculture and the quality of agricultural products by training agriculturists to adopt and use new methods of cultivation, for organisation of market ing services to help agriculturists in obtaining good prices for their products. Improvement of irrigation, canals and waterways and drainage are yet other major works in which much may be done. National defence work, it appears, must now and on future be considerably extended and intensified. And a comprehensive programme of defence work and the trades and industries that must develop as its ancillaries, will no doubt open up new vistas of employment to not only educated youths but also to many other sections of our people. The scope for the extension of public utility services, like electricity, telephone, etc., is, again, immense. To the extent that we progress in each and all of these lines, we would correspondingly facilitate the task of providing employment to our youths and absorbing larger and larger numbers in useful occupations. On the other hand, as agriculturists benefit by the various services and amenities provided to them, as their lands yield more products and of better quality, as they are put in possession of increased and increasing purchasing power, the benefits of that larger purchasing power and consequently larger spending both on goods and services cannot but have salutary and strengthening effects over all sections of the community, including the educated middle-classes.

I think I have given you sufficient indication as to how the extension of social services and developmental activities by the State will help to ease very materially the problem of unemployment among educated youths, helping simultaneously also to provide work for very large numbers of manual labourers. The comparatively small work which the Bengal Ministry has so far undertaken by way of debt redemption schemes and jute census has already provided employments to considerable numbers of educated youths. From this it should be easy to appreciate what great scope for employment is likely to be opened up to our youths as more and more work and projects of this nature are undertaken.

By enumerating what the State is capable of doing for the unemployed, I do not suggest for a moment that we should look to the gracious activities of the State as the only remedy possible. In almost all advanced countries a most significant rôle has been played by private initiative and enterprise, for instance, through the expansion of industry, trade, and commerce. In some of the more forward provinces in India also similar important contributions have been made by private enterprise. In the whole of the industrial field, the scope of potential future employment through the growth of private initiative and enterprise is obviously large. In industry the progress of Bengalees is still very small, but the need as well as the scope for expansion is great. And if industry expands and develops, with it also must develop trade and commerce, both wholesale and retail, which are the ancillaries of industry. And a developing industry, trade and commerce will no doubt each make a large contribution to the problem of finding suitable careers for educated young men.

At this stage I would like to draw your attention to one point in order to avoid a possible confusion. You must have noticed that in speaking of unemployment I have spoken very considerably on the need of increasing industrialisation and the organisation of newer and better social services. But I must not be understood to suggest that industrialisation is the only solution of the problem or that it has no limitations of its own. But in an under-developed country like ours, industrialisation most naturally engage our special attention because of the large potentialities for development that it offers. As a method of solution, industrialisation, however, is not without its limitations taking a long-view of the situation inasmuch as it may bring complications in its own trail on account of cyclical reverses. But an alternative solution that is sometimes suggested strikes me as still more defective and, in fact, hardly practicable. There is a feeling that schools and colleges should be drastically reduced in number so that only as many clerks, lawyers, supervisors, etc., will be turned out as the country needs. The rest should go back to the villages, cultivate lands, spin and weave their own clothes and catch their own fish. So there will be no unemployment. Such a solution of the problem, even though we sincerely insist on simplicity of life, seems to be far too simple to be really practicable or useful. It entirely ignores the outlook and basic social traditions of the middle-classes. It also ignores the fact that in social and economic life it is hardly possible to put the clock back like this. As an abstract logical proposition such a scheme of solution is understandable, but it is frankly too pessimistic and is altogether out of tune with the concept of a progressive, dynamic society, which although increasing in numbers, yet manages to organise in such a manner that increased social services and better amenities are provided to all. The real remedy does not lie in closing down schools or colleges or denying higher education except to just a few. The remedy should rather be sought through adjusting and adapting the education system so as to be helpful towards the expansion of the productive activities of the community. The proper remedy does not also lie in depressing the standard of living and redistributing what little we have among an increasing population. In fact, to my mind, the question of unemployment and the question of increasing the standard of living should go together. As I have tried to emphasise in other contexts also, unemployment is not a problem by itself. As our economic life grows in diversity, as standards of life improve, as new wants arise, there will be the scope for absorbing larger numbers of our educated youths in gainful occupations.

I would emphasise once more that unemployment should be solved not by depressing the standard of living, but rather by trying to raise it. We should try to serve one another and it is by that process that we shall create employment for us all, raise the standard of living in accordance with our conceptions and our conditions, and thereby increase the sum-total of economic satisfaction. This is not only a solution of the problem of unemployment but also an ideal worth living for.

I may also refer here to the idea fondly cherished by some sections of our younger generations that maldistribution of incomes in the country is the basic factor underlying the problem of unemployment. The natural conclusion that would flow from this premise is that once the levelling down of the existing inequalities in incomes is somehow carried out, the scourge of unemployment will disappear from our midst. Even if we refer to the case of other countries like England and America in order to find support for this theory that maldistribution is the root cause of our unemployment, we should find that Mr. Hobson's concept of " proverty amidst plenty " is not applicable to the economic conditions of India in the same sense or degree as in other advanced countries. I do not suggest for a moment that there is no maldistribution of incomes in India which would not require rectification ; but what I want to emphasise in this connexion is that the problem is not very acute in India and it is not responsible for the growing unemployment in the country. India is a very poor land and under-consumption is the dominant feature of its economic structure. Under-consumption here is due more to restricted production and lack of adequate purchasing power in the hands of the masses than to the concentration of wealth in a fewer hands. A few statistics may make this idea clearer. While in the United States of America families with annual incomes ranging approximately from Rs. 6,000 upwards form 57.7% of the total population, here in India families enjoying annual incomes ranging from the same level to Rs. 6,000 constitute only 1.5% of the total population If you consider the per capita income in the two countries, the contrast will be more telling, for whereas the per capita income in India comes hardly to Rs. 80 a year, it is about Rs. 1,200 in America. It should thus be evident to you that by levelling down the incomes in India, even if it were desirable or feasible, we would not be able to improve the position to any appreciable extent. The vital problem in India is evidently more and more production which means the creation of more economic opportunities for the people and more and more wealth in the hands of the people. The question of righting whatever maldistribution might persist would only come at the last stage when the pain economy of people will have disappeared. In that way only can we raise the standard of living of the people and solve the problem of unemployment among our young generations.

It is well to recognise here that the problem of unemployment of educated youths has a two-fold aspect and significance—an immediate, and a long-term one. There is an immediate problem created by the existence of a large body of educated unemployed. It is a legacy of past maladjustments and is being augmented from year to year by the number of educated young men coming out of the University, and who are unable to secure any gainful employment. It has to be considered whether any measures can be devised for a solution, even partial, of this immediate problem. In the second place, there is the long-term problem of resolving the maladjustment in our socio-economic framework which inevitably goes on swelling the ranks of the unemployed. As I have already stressed, a satisfactory solution of the whole problem of unemployment would depend, on the one hand, on widening the scope and avenues of employment, and, on the other, on recasting our educational system on a more rational basis and revising social values and removing unhealthy traditions. In short, the education given should be such as to make its recipients better fitted for employments and ready and able to undertake all kinds of work.

The immediate problem does not, however, admit of an easy or complete solution. A large number of the educated unemployed is already cramping the employment market, and furthermore augmenting itself from year to year. The extent to which these young men may be absorbed in gainful employment would depend on the rapidity with which new avenues can be created, both by private efforts in the shape of new enterprises in industry, trade and commerce and by governmental initiative in the extension of schemes of public works and social services of various forms. But to absorb so many in regular and permanent employments is not a task that could be easily accomplished, yet the dangers inherent in a large army of dissatisfied and unemployed young men particularly of those beloging to the intellectual classes are obvious. The growth of a generation—self-conscious, restless and explosive—seemingly forced to rebel against an economic and social system which does not appear to have enough room for it, naturally militates against social and economic stability.

To immunise these possible rebels and to give them some sort of occupation rather than let them feel that society has no use for them at all is an imperative necessity. And to this end many of the Western countries have devised methods and established institutions through which certain temporary, and in some cases part-time, occupations are given to the educated unemployed. The best khown of these are the Work Camps in Germany and the Civilian Conservation Corps and the services organised under National Youth Administration in America. The work provided in these countries has ranged from purely manual work, such as digging ditches or shovelling snow, to jobs in line with the specific training and intellectual attainments of the unemployed youths, such as employment in libraries, in statistical and surveying work, in meteorological offices, in hospitals and museums, etc. The effect of this kind of employment has been manifold In the first place, it stops psychological demoralization, it makes the youth feel that he is, after all, doing some useful work for the society: and in all cases it provides the youth a further training and education, a practical experience and breadth of outlook, which, the experience of Western countries shows, has made it easier for him to find and pass on to permanent jobs. Employment schemes of this nature have been financed by both the Government and by private organisations, but mainly by the former, and the yield on this investment has generally been found to be high. I have spoken at some length on this, because I feel that it should well be possible for governments in our country also to try certain schemes of temporary employment for the benefit of our educated unemployed. While in the Bengal Ministry I had under contemplation a project under which every matriculate would have to give a year's service to the State by working for educational and general uplift in the villages. But, unfortunately, it did not prove possible to get the scheme through at that time. However, I think this and other works in the nature of surveys, collection of records and statistics of the kind that I have already mentioned could well provide temporary jobs to intellectuals, which would be welcome and gainful to them, useful also to society and to a government pledged to undertake schemes for amelioration of the conditions of the masses.

A statistics of different kinds and grades of unemployment would be very useful in this connection. For instance, if it is known who and how many among the unemployed must earn in order to carry on their livelihood, and who and how many were not helpless to that extent, and could therefore be employed in honorary work temporarily without any difficulty about their livelihood, the task of keeping them occupied with useful, and in some cases also gainful, work would be facilitated. With such statistical material in hand it might be possible to find some solution for a good many cases either by distributing them over the existing economic organisation or by creating new channels where feasible. Speaking of new channels I might refer to the fillip given by the War, and the creation of new employments both in industry and in State service. With a statistics of the unemployed of the kind I have suggested in our hand, it should be possible to fit in many of these unemployed young men into such new employments. Moreover, production in industries is so increasing, that it might be possible, even apart from the regularly recruited employees to persuade many firms to take some of these young men as apprentices in some form. This is a task which can be undertaken by Government much better and much more easily than by any private organisation. Nevertheless, if Government should not be coming forth, some endeavour on this line even by private initiative would appear to be eminently worth while in the present circumstances. For, whatever benefit such an organisation can obtain of the new channels of employment for our educated youths is a distinct gain.

The long-term problem has, as I have indicated, two facets but I want to devote more attention to the rôle of our educational system in this problem. I may reiterate that the solution of the unemployment problem does not and cannot lie in restricting education, for as a matter of fact, we have even now too many illiterate and ill-educated among our countrymen. Any one able to visualise the almost elemental strength of the urge for education will recognise the futility of measures which may be taken to control or restrict student enrolments. Stricter examinations, higher fees, the lengthening of the courses of study are but palliatives. Wherever such measures have been taken, they have proved ineffective or at best have temporarily succeeded in stemming the tide. The situation thus presents a sharp challenge to educators and social scientists alike. Education is a precious gift to which mankind owes much of its dignity, but education must be saved from itself. It must be planned. It cannot be allowed to develop haphazard, to grow without a clear sense of direction and realzation of its purpose. Education should be planned and has to be adapted to the changing needs of a changing society as I have already said. Schools are needed to serve not the society of today but the society which will exist when the children are ready to take their share of the world's task. Where the schools are slow in adapting their curricula and where educational leaders lack the foresight to understand future needs, maladjustment fraught with grave consequences is inevitable. In adapting education to the needs of society, one must also take it into account that in our society, even with industrial progress and with a better balance between industry and agriculture, about 60 per cent. of the people must remain engaged in agriculture. Our agriculture, too, will essentially be in the nature of small farming and not large-scale operations. In industry, again, most of the estabishments are likely to be on a more or less small scale, requiring the services not of high technicians, but technicians of a lower grade. Education both general and practical, its grade and character, must, therefore, be planned with an eye to these factors.

The changes in economic and social conditions which have taken place in recent years create a demand for kind of education radically different from that which in the past was regarded as adequate. Members of a changing society must be prepared to readjust their ideas and habits of life. The aim of education is to prepare the young for life not in an abstract community but in the community which eventually they will have to serve. In any scheme of educational planning which must precede occupational planning, vocational education will occupy a most important and essential place. It is now recognised that any system of economic reconstruction would be exposed to the risks of failure unless vocational training was developed in accordance with the needs of that reconstruction. It is an integral part of economic life inasmuch as it provides a most desired means of adjusting the employment market to the needs of the economic system at any given moment. I must mention one thing here. It is absolutely necessary that a close contact between technical and vocational training imparted and between economic and occupational life should be maintained. For, even where scientific, vocational and technical education is imparted at present, it is often found that the curricula have no real touch with the conditions of actual life. The education and training do not therefore have the desired result. In view of this I would suggest the establishment of special advisory bodies. These may be attached to the central public authorities dealing with this subject or to the institutions themselves, and their duty would be to give suitable advice in order to ensure that the organisation, working and curricula of vocational and technical schools are adequate to meet the needs of our economic and occupational life. There should be collaboration by the business houses, chambers of commerce and industry and industrial associations in the work of technical and vocational education. It is only on the basis of such insight and understanding that it will be possible to arrive at something like an occupational plan, a vision of future needs in the various professions and occupations. We cannot expect such a plan to be perfect or fool-proof; but plan we must if we are to build up a better society where unemployment as an evil will be non-existent. But vocational education, after all, is essentially theoretical, and therefore to get the best results and to serve best the needs of trade and industry as also of those to be employed by them, a system of apprenticeship has to be resorted to. In fact, the maintenance of an adequate supply of skilled labour, efficiently trained under good conditions, has been found to be a matter of great importance in almost every progressive country. The results of investigations on the subject have served to emphasise that apprenticeship is still of supreme importance in the modern industrial system and in various groups of trades, and it is still by far the most systematic method of entry into the ranks of skilled men in most of the important trades and industries. It is, therefore, most desirable that in this country also we should try to evolve in co operation with businessmen and industrialists, a system of apprenticeship training in various business and industrial establishments, not necessarily with the idea of absorbing the apprentices in the particular establishments in which their training was obtained, but for employment in any establishment, old or new, where demand for skilled services may arise.

The question of occupational planning naturally arises in this context. I feel strongly that some expert machinery should exist which would be in a position to focus the attention of the public on the probable scope of employment in various occupations. A body on the lines of the National Professional Orientation Committee which the Wicksell Report in Sweden recommended may be set up here. This body should consist of representatives of the learned professions, University professors, student organizations, commercial interests and of the Government. Its tasks should be twofold: (1) to observe continuously the situation on the market for intellectual labour; special enquiries to be made from time to time into changes within individual professions ; (2) to publish its findings at regular intervals and to bring them to the notice of schools, parents and students. The widest publicity should be given to the work of this institution. If such a machinery could be set up and made to function properly, there cannot be the least doubt that its findings would prove of great benefit to both students and their parents or guardians. During my tenure in the Bengal Ministry I had, as a preliminary to a full-fledged body which would actively assist guardians and parents, initiated the setting up of the skeleton of such an organisation, with the object of studying and classifying the various types of existing employments available to educated youths and the qualifications necessary for them, both under the Government and the private industrial establishments and public bodies. It was my idea to have brochures embodying the data collected published and distributed to Universities so as to help students in finding and selecting suitable careers. Preliminary enquiries in a good many lines were completed, but unfortunately I had to relinquish office before a broadening of the activities of the organisation on the lines suggested in the Wicksell Report could be undertaken. Let me, however, hope that those now in authority would complete the task I had initiated.

The planning of the educational system independent of the objective factors like industrial expansion, agricultural improvement and adoption of other methods in order to create more and more economic opportunities cannot by itself bring about a reduction in the extent of unemployment. In fact the planning process should proceed simultaneously both in education and in economic development, for up to a certain extent the former has to be conditioned by the stage of progress in the latter. The Government may do a great deal by way of assisting the expansion of industrial careers and trade opportunities by the adoption of suitable financial and fiscal policies as the recent history of India's industrial development backed by a series of protective tariffs would amply testify.

Speaking of opportunities in industry, one cannot help observing that although Bengal as a province is more industrialised than any other province in India, the share of the sons of the soil in the prosperity and employments created by these industries has been comparatively small. These industries are mostly controlled and important positions under them held by Europeans and enterprising immigrants from other provinces of India. Not that the people of the province have not derived any benefit from the presence of the industries in this province, but undoubtedly their gains would be far larger if they themselves controlled and managed many industries.

It would be interesting in this connection to site a few statistics collected by the Bengal Government regarding the number of Bengalees and non-Bengalees employed in a few industries in the province which will show that in them non-Bengalee employees still predominate:—

	Percentage of non-Bengalee employees.
Jute Mills	54.9 %
Silk Mills	66.9 %
Battery and Dry Cell Factories ...	70.8 %
Gas Factories	69.3 %
Match Factories	64 %
Aluminium and Enamel Factories ...	57 %
Sugar Mills	56.3 %
Glass Factories	85 %
Aerated Water & Ice Factories ...	73.1 %
Tea Estates	59.8 %

The total percentage of non-Bengalees in 28 categories of industries, inclusive of the few I have named, comes to 45.4%. It will thus be seen that educated Bengalees still lag behind in many lines of industries and considering the fact that these percentages relate only to the superior grades of jobs, excluding manual and unskilled labourers, their significance, so far as the question of educated young men of Bengal finding a foothold in industrial openings is concerned, is indeed striking. I should at the same time point out that these percentages need not be taken as the perfect barometer of the actual situation, since they have not been arrived at on the basis of complete statistics of all the industries concerned; but they certainly indicate the trends which are quite revealing and indicative of the fact that in many of the branches of the industries, Bengalee unemployed young men should have an increasing scope for employment. Even in the case of jute, for instance, in both its manufacture and in the trade in jute, there should be a large scope for our young men. It is a fact that our young men do not get proper opportunities of apprenticeship in the jute mills controlled by non-Indians and our businessmen also do not receive proper facilities of custom from them. If an estimate were made, it would be seen that even in the matter of selling of raw jute Bengalees fail to take advantage of several crores of rupees worth of trade which goes to outsiders, but with a determination on their part and the necessary goodwill and co-operation of the interest concerned, it should be possible for the people of this province to recover at least a substantial portion of the distributive trade in raw jute, also secure positions of responsibility and many of the higher offices in the jute manufacturing industry and obtain as well as a good share of the export trade in manufactured jute. Needless to say that if scope in these lines is obtained, this would mean considerable relief to the unemployment situation.

From what I have said so far it must have struck you that although the problem we are confronted with is both serious and vast, it is not beyond our means or capacity to attempt some sort of solution. I have indicated some of the many lines which, if developed, would probably absorb a very large proportion of the educated unemployed. But there is a big 'if' in this. The scope for employment can only come if certain work or activities are undertaken. Unfortunately the obstacles to such activities being undertaken are many. In the first place, we do not possess the full measure of political power necessary for undertaking all the works I have mentioned. And what is more unfortunate, the prevailing atmosphere seems to be all against the proper utilisation of even such powers as we possess, in the interests of work of this nature. In the existing situation, power and authority are the result of votes, and those placed in power by the voters are not always imbued with the mentality or endowed with the capacity for constructive work of such magnitude; moreover, the slogans by parading which the votes are secured generally have little or no bearing on constructive national work. In fact, in the political sphere there exists a welter of ideas; conflicting slogans and a most disorderly admixture of creeds and shibboleths have produced an atmosphere which serves to distract attention away from constructive thought and constructive work. Yet what we need most at the moment is that those in authority should give the province a bold and constructive leadership. It is required that they should not only be sympathetic towards a planned programme of work for social, economic and industrial development, but that they should take an initiative in such matters. I do not of course suggest that the Government can or should do everything that I have mentioned. For one thing, it would be more desirable if under the prevailing conditions big industrial schemes, trade and commercial undertakings are launched by private enterprise with Government help, if necessary. But any large-scale enterprise in this direction must mean a joint-stock enterprise, for in Bengal there are few who could singly provide the huge capital necessary for any big industrial or commercial undertaking. It would, therefore, be necessary to pool together the small resources of many. It would also be necessary to harness to the aid of such enterprises the best that we possess in scientific and expert knowledge. Only thus could Bengalees hope to be able to make up the deficiency they have in this field. It may not be easy to start industries in many cases owing to the presence of strongly entrenched rivals; but whatever opportunities there are for new enterprises by Bengalees themselves could be availed of only if big large scale efforts are undertaken on the lines I have indicated. Many new lines have developed in this province even in recent years, but Bengalees themselves have had little share in them, because they did not possess the machinery or organisation by which to take advantage of the opportunities for such development. An instance in point is the development of motor transport in recent years in this province. This was a new line and new opportunity which Bengalees might have availed of; but for absence of a suitable machinery or organisation they failed to do so.

Apart from new lines or new openings, opportunities sometimes arise even within the existing industries, which Bengalees could avail of if only they have a proper financial organisation. With such financial organisation they could, for example, capture and take over existing establishments when such establishments change hand. With an adequnte machinery for financing, they could also rejuvenate many a languishing industry. And all these, if they materialised, would obviously mean scope for increasing employment for Bengal's young men.

In this connection I would like to address a few words now to my young friends directly. I would ask them to realise that life has become increasingly more complex to-day. The brilliant success achieved by a few should not make us blind to the realities of the situation. Success is apt to beget a degree of complacency in which every object in the landscape puts on a rosy hue; and the successful are apt to under-rate difficulties, when they are the difficulties of others. But let me assure you that although I have personally no reason to complain of the way life has treated me, I appreciate the uphill task that awaits you when you will come into your own and be called upon to do your duty by yourself and others. In days gone by it was almost certain that the average university student, provided he was not particularly dull-witted, would, on the completion of his college career, step into some definite job which did not leave him in want of the material necessities of life. But the situation to-day has become over so much more difficult and complex. There is, therefore, a greater need now to equip yourselves more thoroughly for the respective departments of life you elect to pursue. Even the career of a Government servant requires now-a-days far greater equipment for the efficient discharge of his duties, for he has not only to perform the special duties entrusted to him, but in its performance he is required to have a far more comprehensive equipment for the whole range of the activities of the part of the country where he is posted. And this need for a better equipment is even greater in other walks of life. For business has become more complex, and for success one has to be well posted in regard to conditions not only in this country but also outside for fear of being overtaken by a more intelligent competitor. Business and service conditions of every description make an increasing demand on the capabilities, both mental and physical, of our young men, and they must train themselves adequately to meet the requirements of such a demand.

Our young men must also shed false ideas and expectations. Social and economic conditions are so shaken under the influence of the growing political consciousness of the common mass of people that we would do well to anticipate in the future a considerable narrowing down of disparities in respect of opportunities and incomes than is the situation to-day. This will no doubt be a welcome development. But a necessary corollary of this development is that opportunities for amassing huge wealth, and amassing it quickly will become fewer. Our young men, however talented, should not be actuated by any expectations of getting rich quickly. Their expectations of material success should be tempered as much by accepted standards in our country as by the needs of a more planned development of it. False ideas may very well prove tragic. For, the desire to get rich quickly may drive our young men to starve in some congested city rather than make a modest living on the land. And the inevitable unfortunate result is that more often than not they seek their salvation in protests and uprisings rather than by attempting to fit in where they are most needed. I would appeal to my young friends to guard against a mental attitude which may lead to such tragic developments.

In conclusion, I would like to say that I do not think for a moment that an address or discourse of this nature can provide cues for any speedy solution of such a difficult problem. The problem is baffling and intractable and there exists a welter of ideas and suggestions in regard to it. In the circumstances, if what I have said so far should help to clarify ideas on this knotty problem, and if it should stimulate you all to a correct appreciatton of the issues I shall consider my labours as amply repaid.

I am afraid that my analysis of the different aspects of unemployment in this country may have created mixed feelings in your minds. Some of you may be imagining the uncertainties of the future and hence a sadness may be creeping around your vision and aspirations. But let me advise you, my young friends, not to be so easily dismayed by an economic phenomenon which is prevalent in all countries. You must not allow your momentary pessimism to invade your youthful dreams and darken your outlook about the future. The present belongs to you and you must utilise it in the best way possible so that the future may also be yours. If the educational system is wrong in some of its aspects to-day, it is not your making and it is not for you to think about its rectification. You should make the best use of the opportunities that are now open to you and that is the surest way of equipping yourself for the battle of life under the existing conditions. Society is passing through a continuous process of revision ; if the present stage is not what we desire or need, it is because the process of revision has lagged behind our requirements. We are all conscious of it to-day and this fact alone indicates that we are on the threshold of reforms. So pessimism need not chill your ardour and befog your youthful vision. The present is making you and it will be your privilege to make the future.

The Presidency College to which you have the distinction of belonging has built up many glorious traditions in the social and intellectual life of this province and even of India. I have heard it said by one of your ex-professors that anybody who is somebody in Bengal must have some sort of connection with Presidency College. It is a proud tribute to the college and I have no doubt that it is perfectly justified. I hope that all of you will be worthy of such traditions of your college and add more traditions to its hoary glories. It may be that all of you will not be equally well-placed in life; but in whatever spheres you may find yourselves, you will keep the banner of your college flying. You will issue out into the world with a sacred mission from this Alma Mater of yours to serve your society and your countrymen. You will never allow that mission to be betrayed, undismayed by what economic tribulations may overtake you. If the youthful atmosphere of this college in which you have spent your training period and in which your ideas and ambitions have been nurtured does not follow you all through your life with its uplifting influence, you will thereby have lost a great heritage and a great spiritual talisman against the buffetings of the world.

It is against the easy discomfiture of our young men in the face of odds that I want you to be sufficiently loined in time. The faint-hearted never win a victory. Life is as much a test of your moral qualifications as of your intellectual or educational equipments. Maintain the standards of conduct your college has instilled into you, keep your ideals high, your mind clear and your heart stout in the adventure of life in which you will soon enter, and success will be yours.

SOME SOLDIER-POETS OF THE GREAT WAR

B. K. Palit, M.A. (Cal.), B.A. (Lond.)

THE last Great War, which stretched itself over four weary years, was a great inspirer of poetry. No other war in historical memory has called forth even a quarter of such a quantity of verse, maintained at a high level of quality, for the plain reason that national emotion had never before, for any length of time, been stirred to so deep an extent. For the first time in history, fighting was not limited to a professional class of soldiers but drew forth the efforts of almost the entire manhood of the nation. In many ways the war poetry has been unique Most of it is written, not by the spectators, the stay-at-home civilians, but by the soldiers themselves ; so many volumes of poetry have been composed by young officers in active service. It was the emotional stress of war that impelled these otherwise " mute, inglorious Miltons " to give vent to their feelings in poetry.

Most of the war poetry of the past has depicted war as a grand affair, misrepresenting it as something intrinsically beautiful, splendid and inspiring. The poets of the Great War, excepting a few not permitted to stay long enough to lose the traditional illusions, have looked at war, not as Wordsworth and Scott and Campbell regarded it—as the clash of moral principles or as something essentially glorious and honourable—but from a quite different point of view. They wrote as tortured individuals struggling in the clutches of a blind and senselessly cruel fate ; they had the absorbing prepossession that war is after all a kind of toiling, moiling business in which the individual is of no more importance than a tiny screw in a huge machine. Yet the earlier war poems were full of high idealism and aspiration, looking upon war as something worthy of the noblest efforts of the nation. Rupert Brooke's *The Soldier*, and Julian Grenfell's *Into Battle* are poems of this type, as is also *All the Hills and Vales Along* by Charles Sorley, the first of the war poets whose work will be examined in this article.

CHARLES SORLEY

Charles Hamilton, the only son of Professor W. R. Sorley, was one of the few soldier-poets who would not or could not bring themselves to write mainly war poetry during the opening months of the armageddon. When the war broke out, he was in Germany, a country he loved ; and the force of his love kept him singularly free from all prejudices. He enlisted early with enthusiasm and fought in a spirit of utter detachment. Some of his poems, intensely human and full of noble pathos, symbolise the young soldier's spirit of self-dedication and unquestioning surrender:

> On, marching men, on
> To the gates of death with song.
>
> —*All the Hills and Vales Along.*

These poems carry the spirit of the English school playgrounds into the drab, drenched flats of Flanders. Sorley died too soon (October, 1915) to suffer the accumulated torment of those who lasted into the long agony of war. Hence there is very little bitterness in his poems ; we find instead the keen candour of spiritual innocence:

> That's what I am: a thing of no desire
> With no path to discover and no plea
> To offer up
>
> —*Deus Loquitur.*

Much of the verse written by Sorley was an emotional escape from the war generally to the favourite themes of the English countryside, and particularly, to the environments of his *alma mater*, Marlborough School. He tried to put down in verse his delight in different aspects of Nature. The mossy buildings, the fields and downs, the sweet-smelling flowers and the singing birds are described with a humorous exactness in several of his poems. Even the raucous rooks are not passed over:

> The rooks are cawing all day.
> Perhaps no man, until he dies,
> Will understand what they say.
>
> —*Rooks.*

Charles Sorley was mainly an experimental poet, here trying his hand at narrative, there at description, always making an effort to shed the conventional style and evolve something closer to his own conception of poetry.

WILFRED OWEN

Wilfred Owen was a sweet and shy English boy, rather tender-hearted and inquisitive. His mother's love and a staunch devotion to Keats were the principal formative influences of his life. A long residence in France taught him the charm of French poetry and led him to experiment in French literary technique and in a poetry of emotional suggestion. His early poems, like *My Shy Hand*, show an excess of epithet and a supremacy of verbal music over thought. Then came the war, of which he felt himself to be the destined recorder. At first he tried his hand at producing poems in the manner of Mr. Siegfried Sassoon, but he soon passed to a wise maturity of his own. The later poems are as vigorous as those of Mr. Sassoon, but are less bitter and have a greater infusion of pity. He never lost his faith in men, and so his ironical moods were less bitter than the other's. His poems, however, show less skill in workmanship, and some of them are difficult, if not obscure.

Owen's achievement has been the recording of the effect of the impact of modern war on the sensitive mind of modern youth. He scouted the idea that his war verses were poetry. Sketching a preface for the book he did not live to print, he says:

" Above all this book is not concerned with Poetry. The subject of it is War, and the Pity of War. The poetry is in the Pity."

The pity of it was reflected in his own life, for he was killed, poor fellow, just a week before the armistice. In 1920 a collection of his poems was published with a foreward by Mr. Sassoon, and in 1931 Mr. Blunden brought out a new edition of his poems.

The main drift of Owen's verse is the shattering of the illusion of the glory of war, and its mood is not free from a scathing bitterness for the people who nurture this illusion. He has seen hell in the trenches, and he wants the horror of it to descend upon mankind like a nightmare:

> Our brains ache, in the merciless east winds that knife us
> Wearied we keep awake because the night is silent
> ……………………………… ..
> What are we doing here?
>
> —*Exposure*,

War involves savagery; it demands of men such cruel outrage against their human instincts that as a moral experience it is unbearable. The only glory imperishably associated with war is that of the supreme sacrifice:

Of them who running on that last high place
Leapt to swift unseen bullets, or went up
On the hot blast and fury of hell's upsurge,
Or plunged and fell away past this world's verge,
Some say God caught them even before they fell.

—*Spring Offensive.*

It has been Owen's aim to represent to the mind of peace the inconceivable atrocity of war, with the suffering and death-in-life which it entails. One might suppose that this was an impossible task for poetry; yet Owen has passages in which he achieves it, showing us together, by a wonderful mastery of the association of words, both the havoc and the wreckage and the tender, trustful loveliness they have replaced:

A short life and a merry one, my buck!
We used to say we'd hate to live dead old—
Yet now..................I suppose
Little I'd ever teach a son, but hitting,
Shooting, war, hunting, all the arts of hitting.

—*Â Terre.*

A sustaining impulse of Owen's poetry is sympathy and pity. He is pitiless with his readers, but only for the sake of utter truth and faithfulness. His poems are calm; in spite of the intense passion which is their impulse they have a haunting serenity, for the poet has mastered his experience and his emotion has become tranquil. Often the tenderness behind the relentless gives the hard, brutal words a redemptive virtue, searing us with an anguish which they transcend, as in *Insensibility*, the last stanza of which has a sad poetic serenity:

By choice they made themselves immune
To pity and whatever mourns in man
Before the last sea and the hapless stars;
Whatever mourns when many leave these shores;
Whatever shares
The eternal reciprocity of tears.

His hope for mankind Owen did not give up altogether, and he found something worth while in the exultation of battle as well as in the fellowship of comrades.

Mr. Blunden draws a comparison between Owen and Keats. He had not Keats's avidity for words, nor his triumphant ease in the use of them ; there was nothing in him of the flowering sensuousness in which Keats rivals Shakespeare. His great gift for poetry was strengthened by meditation and resolve ; with less poetic zest he had more balanced manliness than Keats. In Owen's *Strange Meeting,* Mr. Middleton Murry finds echoes of *Hyperion.* "The sombre imagination, the sombre rhythm, is that of the dying Keats."

Strange Meeting is indeed Owen's strongest poem, though not the most perfect one. It approaches the realm of really great poetry ; in it the quintessential Owen speaks. Mr. Murry calls it "the most magnificent expression of the emotional significance of war that has yet been achieved by English poetry." Owen dreams that he talks in a tunnel with the dream-shade of a man whom he has bayoneted and finds that they are of the same mind about the 'pity of war'. The poem has an awful rigour of style ; almost every line is a sentence and every sentence comes out as on a dying man's last breath. The concluding lines

> I am the enemy you killed, my friend.
> I knew you in this dark ; for so you frowned
> Yesterday through me as you jabbed and killed.
> I parried; but my hands were loath and cold.
> Let us sleep now . . . .

are indicative of Owen's final mastery of life and of poetry.

Strange Meeting is complete, profound and awe-inspiring, but it does not stand alone, for although Owen wrote no other poem quite on the same level, we can only regard it as the culmination of poems scarcely less profound. *Exposure* is charged with the same sombre mystery, and the unity of technique and emotional intention is almost as close. In Owen's best work a passionate concentration of strength helps him to evoke forms which, without any loss of precision, have the stamp of universal truth. In his later poems there is no rebellion but only pity and regret, and the peace of acquiescence. It may not be a comfortable peace, but it is a victory of the human spirit. As Mr. Parsons says, "His poems evidence not only his clear perception of the real issues involved, but the vital humanity which was so essential a part of his philosophy of life."

Owen has made useful contributions to verse technique. From the first he had experimented in different kinds of rhyme. His search after some garment for his ideas more closely fitting than the familiar rhyme arose, not from any desire to experiment for experiment's sake, but from the inward need to say what he had to say most exactly. Ultimately he evolved a peculiar type of rhyme to aid him in the expression of the prevailing emotions of disgust, of weariness and of bleak realism. To put it briefly, he substitutes for vowel identity, with its pleasing music, a consonantal identity which sounds strange to the ears; in other words, instead of rhyme, there is consonance. Generally it is mere consonance, with entirely different vowel sounds:

> Both arms have mutinied against me—brutes.
> My fingers fidget like ten idle brats.
>
> —*A Terre.*
>
> It seemed that out of battle I escaped
> Down some profound dull tunnel, long since scooped
> Through granites which Titanic wars had groined.
> Yet also there encumbered sleepers groaned.
>
> —*Stange Meeting.*

At first a casual reader feels that it is blank verse with a mournful, impressive, even oppressive quality of its own. He looks again and discovers the technical innovation. Those assonant endings are indeed the discovery of genius; they are a natural flowering of the poet's emotion. They are the very modulation of his voice; we are in the presence of that rare achievement, a true poetic style. Owen tried to check the growing laxity of form among contemporary poets by using a balanced metre. Shunning *vers libre*, he used mostly the five-stressed line with an iambic basis freely patterned.

Many eminent critics Mr. Murry and Mr. Eliot among them—have agreed that Wilfred Owen was the greatest poet of the last war. There have been many war-poets; but he was a poet of a special calibre. He was not a poet who seized upon the opportunity of war, but one whose being was saturated by a strange experience, who bowed himself to the horror of war until his soul was permeated by it, and there was no mean and personal element left in him. The war was a unique and terrible experience for mankind; its poetry had likewise to be terrible and unique. It had to record not the high hopes that animated English youth at the outset, but the slow destruction of that youth in the sequel; more than this, it had to record not what the war did to men's bodies and senses, but what it did to their souls. Owen's poetry is unique because it records imperishably the devastation and final victory of a soul.

ISAAC ROSENBERG

Isaac Rosenberg came of Jewish stock and was brought up in the East End of London. Having convinced his headmaster of his talent for drawing, he was sent to the Slade School of Art. He also took to writing verse, and his earlier pieces, full of echoes of Donne and Blake, were not long in attracting attention. Mr. Laurence Binyon welcomed him into the brotherhood of poets and a poem of his, *Zion*, was included in one of the *Georgian Poetry* volumes. He enlisted in 1915 and was killed in April, 1918, after three years of trench life which crippled and blunted his gift for poetry. Mr. Gordon Bottomley edited a collection of Rosenberg's poems in 1922, and a more copious volume came out in 1937 with a preface by Mr. Sassoon.

Rosenberg's poems are worlds apart from his pictures. They break forth into large floating clouds of idea and language, which often dissolve into disorder. We feel that as he struggles hard to realise his ambition of writing poetry, yet feels crippled and numbed by the miseries of trench life, his ear and vision seem to grow blunter and his voice more shrill and more strained in its effort to overcome the clash and clang of modern warfare. In his own overstrained words:

> The air is loud with death,
> The dark air spurts with fire,
> The explosions ceaseless are.
>
> . . . .
>
> The drowning soul was sunk too deep
> For human tenderness.

—*Dead Man's Dump.*

In several of his poems Rosenberg is obscure, for the sequence of the thoughts are hard to follow. This is not because he aimed at any deliberate extravagance of style. The truth is, Rosenberg got entangled in symbolism in a vain effort for a more modern realism. His shaping spirit is involved in too many symbols at once; he cannot quite command the floods of imagery he lets loose, as is seen in *Girl to Soldier on Leave* and in *Wedded*:

Babel-cities' smoky tops
Pressed upon your growth
Weary gyves. What were you
But a world in the brain's ways,
Or the sleep of Circe' swine?

—*Girl to Soldier on Leave.*

Like Yeats Rosenberg seldom exhibits any clear connection between the symbols he employs—*e.g.*, "Babel-cities' smoky tops" and "weary gyves" and "Circe's swine"—or between the symbol and the thing symbolised, so that one feels that a cog has slipped somewhere and the images succeed without any connection. There is a quaint charm in this sort of kaleidoscope, but it is imperfect poetry. Rosenberg wrote in 1917: "Poetry should be definite thought and clear expression, however subtle; there should be no vagueness." But an intense restless striving after strength makes his poetry more strange than beautiful and leads him away into regions of cloudy incomprehensibility. In his own view the best of his poems is *Amazons* or *Daughters of War*, which took him about a year to write and into which he had striven "to get that sense of inexorableness the human (or inhuman) side of this war has." The poem reads a little like one of the passages from Blake's prophetic books; Rosenberg is hot in chase after some idea which, for all its splendour and impressiveness, contrives to elude him:

These maidens came—these strong everliving Amazons,
And in an easy might their wrists
Of night's sway and noon's sway the sceptres brake,
Clouding the wild, the soft lustres of our eyes.

. . . .

So the soul can leap out
Into their huge embraces.

Among Rosenberg's poems there are a few scattered ones in which we can catch a glimpse of his appreciation of Nature. Tortured by the glare and clangour of the inferno he lived in, sick to death of the whole business of war, he had yet feeling enough left in him to respond to the occasional joys of Nature. The notes of the larks ringing out on a sombre night were like balm to the war-worn soldier who marched along the " bleak poison-blasted track " :

> But hark! Joy—joy—strange joy.
> Lo! Heights of night ringing with unseen larks:
> Music showering on our upturned listening faces.
>
> —*Returning, We Hear the Larks.*

A cluster of poppies growing on a mossy parapet attracts his attention, and straightway he plucks one

> To stick behind my ear.
>
> —*Break of Day in the Trenches.*

Rosenberg was " always afraid of being empty." But emptiness was the last thing he needed to fear. He had a flair for the vivid phrase, for illumination in flashes. If he had learnt co-ordination and restraint, if only he could have knitted the struggling parts into an artistic texture, he must assuredly have won a lasting place in the annals of English literature. His now famous *Dead Man's Dump* begins thus:

> The plunging limbers over the shattered track
> Racketed with thier rusty freight,
> Stuck out like many crowns of thorns,
> And the rusty stakes like sceptres old
> To stay the flood of brutish men
> Upon our brothers dear.

Stringency of form compels continuity here; in line after line the burning heat of the opening stanza is maintained, and Rosenberg brings to an adequate conclusion the rhapsody which a more experienced artist would hardly have dared to set in motion. As Mr. Sassoon points out, Rosenberg's experiments were a strenuous effort for impassioned expression; his imagination had a sinewy aliveness ; he modelled words with fierce energy and aspiration, finding ecstasy in form and dreaming in the grandeur of superb light and deep shadow. " In the peculiar freshness and originality of his mind," remarks Mr. Parsons, Rosenberg was among the most remarkable of the poets of his generation, and it is impossible to guess what he might have accomplished had he survived the War." It is too much to expect that his work will win lasting remembrance. But that does not mean it was wasted; for he was poet enough to write for himself.

SIEGFRIED SASSOON

Mr. Siegfried Sassoon is one of the soldier-poets whose work is of lasting value. His early poems were written after the Georgian model, with their lyric quality and amatory sentiment. The war changed him totally; he responded gaily to the call, but soon became embittered by the sight of misery and bloodshed. Now he began to write peoms exposing the ruthlessness of the war—its horrors and brutalities. These poems were published in two successive volumes, *Counter-Attack* (1918) and *Picture Show* (1919). In Mr. Sassoon's poems, as in those of Owen and Rosenberg, there is no dream of heroism, of a cause or a crusade, of broidered banners or glittering spurs. He held up to biting scorn the old familiar glosses upon war. He came to look on his comrades as victims of stay-at-home cant, sacrifices to a false idealism. He wrote from the point of view of the wounded men, not as a spectator to whom the sight of them suggests high, romantic thoughts. The mixed feeling of angry, pity and love wrenches from him these fine lines:—

> Lend him your eyes, warm blood, and will to live.
> Speak to him; rouse him; you may save him yet.
> He's young; he hated war; how should he die
> When cruel old campaigners win safe through?
>
> —*The Death-Bed.*

Escape from the unchanging torment and challenge of the war, from its waste and foulness and barren heroism, was, as Mr. Sassoon knew, impossible. And this knowledge was responsible for the fierce satiric vein that runs through much of his poetry. The satire is entirely impersonal; for personal anger he substitutes a general mockery of all things.

In the greater part of Mr. Sassoon's work, the descriptions are too bare and truthful to betray him into exaggerated visualisation. What gives its beauty to his poetry is the human colour of his realism, the warmth of imagination pulsating in the grimmest of his descriptions. He does not cry out suddenly on the tormented life he sees.

The steady accumulation of objective detai l is always his most effective means of restraint. It is when the sense of restraint is presented in all its blurred, revolting actuality that the horror and pity of war emerges from it. Then the background of shells, mud, corpses, vermin, groans, fear, longing, death takes a living form; and we are conscious of the human implication of such details:

White faces peered, puffing a point of red;
Candles and braziers glinted throuh the chinks
And curtain-flaps of dug-outs; then the gloom
Swallowed his sense of sight; he stooped and swore
Because a sagging wire had caught his neck.

—*A Working Party.*

Pieces like these, marking an unwilling transition from a pink world to a black one, were too acid for the public taste of Mr. Sassoon's time. Yet they are his gift to modern poetry. The defects of art that accompany his quick, passionate utterances are seldom more than of a technical character; his practice was incomplete, and perhaps his vision was too much wrought by feeling. The exact economy of his language and the forceful directness of his imagination made him one of the leaders of the soldier-poets who waged mental strife against the horrors of the armageddon.

TRANSCENDENTALISM IN THE POETICAL WRITINGS OF SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE

M. TAHIR JAMIL, M.A.

I

SAMUEL Taylor Coleridge was not only a great poet, but was at once a critic, a lecturer, and an ardent student of philosophy. It is as a poet-philosopher that he claims our attention here. Starting with the stock-in-trade materialistic philosophy of the 18th century, he passed through the schools of Godwin and Hartley, till he discovered in Germany the birth of a new creed, and became its exponent to English readers at a time when there was a yearning for light. How much of this philosophy permeates his poetry, we shall determine in the following pages, but one thing that every lover of the poet regrets, was his growing voracity for metaphysics that gradually eclipsed the divine poetic gift in him. After his return from Germany where he had devoted himself most exclusively to the study of the philosophy and literature of that country, he discovered in himself a barrenness of poetic inspiration, and, with corresponding keenness, tried to fill up the void by means of critical and metaphysical writings and discourses. His is the tragedy of a sublime poetic genius who lost his way in the "holy jungle of transcendental metaphysics." Escape from it was made impossible for him by domestic troubles, irresolution and opium. Strange as it may seem, despite his labour and devotion, Philosophy today disowns him as her child, while his name will remain eternally inscribed in the temple consecrated to poetry, as one who introduced men to the elements of unseen beauty, and aided them to catch the symphony of angels singing in high heaven.

Predilection for the field of abstract thought and meditation was inborn in Coleridge. His mind was cast by nature in a contemplative mood, and he used to derive the highest form of pleasure by resorting to the friendliness of books and nature. They helped him to indulge in his usual "habit of self abstraction from visible surroundings." [1]

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[1] J. Shawcross: Introductory remarks in his edition of the "Biographia Literaria," p. xii.

Books he read with great avidity. They encompassed a wide range of subjects and included fairy tales, books of travel through unfamiliar lands, history, poetry, metaphysics, and theology. During his boyhood days the alluring and fantastic tales of the Arabian Nights, with their store-house of the marvellous, the weird, and the eerie, appealed to his highly sensitive imagination and made him a 'playless day-dreamer.' But his 'day-dreams,' be it noted, had an educative value and helped the growth of his latent imaginative powers. They were the training for the young mind to cultivate " a love of the Great and the Whole,"[1] as he tells us later in his letter to Thomas Poole (October 16, 1797).

With growth in years, however, even these became insipid for Coleridge, and he began to woo philosophy as his mistress. "At a very premature age, even before my fifth year," writes Coleridge, " I had bewildered myself in metaphysics and theological controversies," which dealt with problems such as providence, fore-knowledge, free-will, and fate.

When Coleridge entered Jesus College at Cambridge, he was well-versed in the ethical and theological doctrines of the time. His erudition, much above that of his college-mates, made him the centre of intellectual discussions, and the undergraduates used to flock round him in order to listen to his discourses on poetry, philosophy, theology, and politics. His interest in metaphysical writers increased with years, and he studiously went through the writings of Locke, Hume, Descartes, Priestly, Godwin, and Hartley. The doctrine of Necessity made a strong appeal to him because, in the first place, he found in it a corroboration of Cato's idea of Fate and natural necessity that he had imbibed earlier, and had expressed in some of the poems of his school-days, and, in the second place, because he was overpowered by the dialectic skill of Hartley who had presented his system in such a logically coherent manner that once the premises were accepted as true, the inferences inevitably followed. The result was that we find Coleridge saluting Hartley in the " *Religious Musings*" as "of mortal kind wisest,"

> " who marked the ideal tribes
> Upon the fine fibres through the sentient brain."

This and poet's assertion in his letter to Southey where he says, "I am a complete necessitarian and believe the corporeality of thought, namely, that it is motion," have led the critics to commit the mistake of asserting that Hartley and Godwin were in complete possession of his mind when he wrote his "*Religious Musings.*" They find in Coleridge's conception of Fate an expression of his creed of necessitarianism, because Coleridge believed at this time that God had pre-determined every detail of man's life, and liked to invoke Him both as an inspiring and pre-dooming Deity. In "*The Destiny of Nations,*" it is often alleged by the critics, Coleridge is a thorough-going necessitarian when he states that even the 'universal guides' of men are helpless, and shape out his course only to 'the pre-doomed adventure.' People do good deeds not out of their own free-will, but like Joan of Arc in the poem, because they feel the weight of a 'mighty hand' upon them which controls all their thoughts and actions. The same idea of necessity and pre-determined doom they trace in the "*Ode to the Departing Year*" and find their point carried when the poet, comprehending the immutable nature of the divine decree, preaches to us a doctrine of submission, for joys and sorrows come in their turn, fixed according to an unalterable law. Everything must be as God has willed it in His full omniscience and Love, and nothing can change His purpose.

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[1] Letters of S. T. Coleridge ; edited by E. H. Coleridge.

If, however we carefully examine these utterances of Coleridge we shall find in them something more than the creed of blind necessitarianism. Here we must take into account the facts that Coleridge had an early Anglican training that had kindled in him fervent religious zeal, that "*Taylor's* translation from Plotinus filled his boyish imagination,"[1] and that his school exercises tell us of implicit faith in the personal God of Christianity. And we never find these tendencies yielding place to the cult of empiricism. The empiricists had appealed to his head and he had admitted their conclusions and proofs, but never became a convert to their empirical faith. "My infidel vanity never touched my heart,"[2] he proudly states on one occasion, while in another place he writes: "The arguments (of Dr. Darwin) against the existence of a God and the evidences of revealed religion were such as had startled me at 15, but had become the objects of my smile at 22." As a result of such mental activity Coleridge came to entertain doubts as to the pretensions of "the thought-benighted sceptics" and by the close of 1796 he denounced their system as one of 'Pride,' that vainly tried to find a satisfactory answer to all the problems and mysteries of the creation by a piecemeal study of physical phenomena and their laws. His unrestrained and thorough condemnation of the "vain Philosophy's aye-babbling spring" in "*The Aeolian Harp,*" and in still stronger terms in "*The Destiny of Nations,*" leaves no room for us to doubt the sincerity of his conviction. In the latter poem Coleridge has no sympathy with those who

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[1] Charles Lamb: Essays on Christ's Hospital, 35 Years Ago.
[2] Life of Coleridge by Alex. W. Gillman.

> " within this gross and invisible sphere
> Chain down the winged thought,"

and thereby not only deny it freedom but depreciate it. The point of denunciation cannot be missed by any student of Coleridge. He will find it directly aimed at the materialistic psychology of Hartley who resolved mental activity into the sensory vibration of the nerve-centres, and looked upon consciousness as the product of a materialistic evolution. Coleridge characterised the system as a "cheat," which with "noisy emptiness of learned phrase" could give no convincing solution of our problems, and which by "untenanting creation of its God" had made man, in the words of Lamb, "an outcast of blind Nature ruled by fatal Necessity." This sense of the inadequacy of the contemporary English philosophy that gave a very little knowledge of the universe, and reduced it to "a mass of little things," was again emphasised by Coleridge in his letter to Benjamin Fowler, written towards the end of 1796. There he notes: "My metaphysical theories lay before me in the hour of anguish as toys by the bedside of a child deadly sick." He is apparently dissatisfied with the empirical theories of knowledge, and feels repugnance for them because they cannot soothe his ailing heart that yearns for the spiritual understanding of Man and the Universe. And so he turned to mysticism, to Christianity, and to his own imagination for the fulfilment of his spiritual needs, as we shall presently see.

Before we proceed any further let us examine here how far Coleridge shows himself in the garb of an associationist and a necessitarian in his poems of the first period that closes with his departure to Germany in 1798. The supporters of the view that makes Coleridge a bondman of Hartley and Godwin in the "*Religious Musings,*" attempt to explain the poet's theories of evil and the soul's identity with God, expressed in that poem, in the light of necessitarianism and the doctrine of association, and refuse to admit that widening and deepening of the mystic strain in him that is only too patent to be missed. That the poet's mind, habituated to the " Vast," to " something one indivisible " that cannot be realised with the senses alone, and his profound religious nature, even from the very opening of the poem, give their unmistakable impress, and as we proceed we find Plato, not Hartley or Godwin, in complete possession of poet's thought. The study of Plato and Plotinus, with the addition of Jacob Boehme, Spinoza and Berkeley, as Coleridge confesses in " *Biographia Literaria*," " acted in no slight degree to prevent my mind from being imprisoned within the outline of any single dogmatic system. They contributed to keep alive the heart in the head." They nourished him " with the imaginative manna of intuition "[1] through which he could conceive of an unchanging reality revealed behind the ever-changing phase of the material world. To feel and to realise this Ultimate Reality it was not sufficient for man to look upon the universe with his senses alone, and connect the data thus supplied, with the help of the law of association, but he should draw himself " back into the deep places of his consciousness," and " live again in the divine ground of his existence."[2] " Seek to mount aloft in pure intellect, in perfection of goodness, and in intuition of the Godhead " was the teaching of Plotinus, and it was an ardent desire of Coleridge to live in that divine experience so that, to quote his own words, he could catch " a little glimpse of Heaven......... a moment's converse with an angel......any ray of God." This, certainly, is the point of view of a mystic adopted by Coleridge, and so he now discerns the spiritual value of objects, and perceives in them the unmistakable sign of a central divine energy responsible for their form and beauty. The objects of nature appear to him as bearing the " true impress of their creating Sire "[3]—the symbols or manifestations of the Great Invisible, and he cries out with the mystics of yore:

> " There is one Mind, one omnipresent Mind
> Omnific. His most holy name is Love."[4]

[1] S. T. Coleridge and the English Romantic School by Alois Brandl; p. 41.
[2] A. E. Powell : The Romantic Theory of Poetry; p. 82.
[3] " Religious Musings."
[4] *Ibid.*

God is the principle of Love in the universe. He does not only create the forms of life and beauty, but also encircles them with His eternal Love. The conception brings about a welcome reconciliation of all the apparent conflicts between the spiritual and the physical forces, and transmutes the mechanical and the material into a manifestation of the spiritual. And this consciousness of the Supreme Reality as "Nature's essence, mind, and energy"[5] apprises him of the "noontide majesty of man" as well, but in a manner different from that of Godwin or Rousseau. The conception of man's greatness and glory was given great currency at that time by these thinkers, but the sublime man of Coleridge is different from that of the theorists. He is at one with them in his vigorous attack on the "Fiends of Superstition," and on.

"The Kings and the Chief Captains of the World,"[1]

who, through their baleful influence, sow and nurture in the human breast the seeds of suspicion, hatred, and jealousy, but Coleridge ascribes the cause of man's degeneration to the want of spiritual insight. He condemns the short-sighted individualism of Godwin, and the narrow-minded sensual considerations of the utilitarianism of his time as breaking up the cohesion of the moral world by making man proud and self-centred:

"Feeling himself, his own low self the whole."[2]

Coleridge accepted the idea of rigid personality, self-conscious and self-determining—but he could never reconcile himself to the point of view that asserted the self-sufficiency of the individual, and regarded him as an end in himself. Such a doctrine, he believed, would make the world an "anarchy of spirits." For him the cardinal point in human regeneration was to be the idea of one vast family knit together in bonds of Love, that expanded the vision of men and made them consider themselves as:

"Parts and portions of one wondrous whole."[3]

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[1] "Religious Musings."
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*

As he says in a later poem, morality based upon these " sensual " considerations:

" Poison life's amities, and cheat the heart
Of faith and queit hope, and all that soothes
And all that lifts the spirit." [1]

It was to be a highly developed spiritual life through which they could comprehend the eternal and deeper unity underlying the " superficial isolation," lose the individual in the universal, and recognise the Divine Spirit as the basis of this essential unity. Once this universal harmony was realised, the soul would be elevated out of its ' small particular orbit,' and would extend its ' sacred sympathy ' to all around. Thus it is the consciousness of man's " high dignities from God," that the poet regards as essential to the recognition of the rights of the individual. He was the first amongst his contemporaries to demand the removal of " unseemly disproportion " of wealth and comfort from a spiritual point of view.

It is from the same elevated plane of realistic-idealism that Coleridge looks at Evil and gives his interpretation of it. To him evil is not only real, but is necessary for the attainment of intellectual security through a knowledge of its consequences, for it is only after a man has realised the depth of evil that he can expect to rise to a higher level of good. It is all in the plan of Divine Benevolence of the poet's orthodox creed which seems to be intermixed here with his idealistic trend of thought. He believes that evil is inseparable from good, and that it awaits the touch of God's grace to transform it into the agency of good. After referring to the oppression and evil prevalent in the world, the poet gives vent to his optimistic faith when he exclaims:

" These, even these, in mercy didst Thou form,
Teachers of Good through Evil, by brief wrong
Making Truth lovely and her future might
Magnetic o'er the fixed untrembling heart."[2]

Man, at first dimly conscious of the Truth, undergoes a long and painful struggle, which awakens his spiritual nature, and gradually

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" Fears in Solitude."
" Religious Musings."

reveals to him the Absolute Good. When that stage is achieved and man surveys his victory over evil from the vantage ground of spiritual elevation, he will recognise the antagonism as transitory, though an essential, condition for the realisation of loftier aim. With the widening of his intellectual horizon and the sharpening of his spiritual vision, he will understand the real significance of vice and anguish as not unsurmountable realities, but as "shapes of a dream"[1] that haunt the brain as long as he is not awakened in spirit. Once that awakening comes, he knows that his true nature demands the identification of his will with that of God, and that evil consists in willing his own selfish and material ends which are of an ephemeral character.

Thus we find that the basis of the poet's account of the evil and the good is not the blind force of necessity working without a purpose, the soulless mechanical law of the physicists. Coleridge moved in a purely mystical and transcendental realm which the materialist Hartley, inspite of being a profund believer, could not reach, and so the "must" of the necessitarians appealed to him as the result of "pure" and intuitive knowledge. Man, according to Coleridge, performs noble and heroic deeds as a spiritual necessity, being a partaker in the divine nature. The real destiny that has been pre-doomed for him by the divine providence is the attainment of perfection and completeness through a harmony between the divine will and his own. This, the inner and better self of man, "the indwelling angel-guide," as the poet calls it in "*The Destiny of Nations*," urges him to seek. There are "dim inexplicable sympathies," excited in the heart as that realm of the divine ideal floats before him, and the feeling of an "inevitable Presence" within, keeps up his spirit and never suffers the heat of the soul to be cooled down by despair. The all-consuming fire of this mystical faith burns away his dark passions and carnal desire, and he can no further be conquered by "the throb and tempest" of his heart. Thus "enrobed with Light, and naturalised in Heaven"[2] he can never fall away from the enjoyment of the beatific vision, and willingly places himself under the law of that spiritual world. Coleridge thus never makes a bondman of human beings, as Godwin's law suggests, nor regards an act of virtue as originating either out of impulse or out of cool calculation with an eye to its utility. He rather regards man as an essentially free moral agent working under the freely accepted guidance of "a mighty hand," which Kant had called in Germany by the name of "categorical imperative." It is a parallel thought, though Coleridge had not yet read the German philosopher. The notion spiritualises virtue, and gives a motive to our good deeds, not in terms of pleasure and profit, but as an effort after moral perfection having been dictated by our higher and transcendental nature. It is an act in which all the faculties of man worked together in harmony, and its sweetness was enjoyed by that divine faculty in man through which "we cleave unto God." It is such an act of self-surrender to the law of goodness and service, cheerfully willed by man himself, that has been responsible for all the progress made by him, and has reared up "kingdoms": the kingdom of Man over Nature, and the kingdom of God in Man.

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] "Religious Musings."

To conclude this topic we may say that there is little of true associationism or necessitarianism in the poems of this period in spite of an atmosphere of necessity created in "*The Ancient Mariner*" and "*Christable*," the two remarkable poems of Coleridge written during this time. There is marked passivity in the characters of the Mariner and Christable, and the weight of necessity seems to be over-bearing, but this is only a device used by the poet to intensify the pathos of the situation. His real faith comes out when he makes a spiritual appeal in the poems by establishing an interconnection between the physical and the spiritual worlds where human beings, though a prey to evil influences, as governed by the law of necessity, are saved in the end by the omnipotence of Love through the saving grace of God. Coleridge could never surrender his belief in the transcendental glory of man, which pointed out that though he lived in a world of pollutions, as in Christable, or by his sinful deed he wilfully cut himself away from the universal life, as in the case of Mariner, yet his true spirit aspired to achieve its unity with God by intuitively learning the lesson of benevolence and of love—a love that unifies all existences in God and is the true form of piety. Thus did the poet seek to broaden our intellectual horizon beyond the ken of the empiricists and the associationists whose unimaginative systems of thought influenced but little his poetic faith and utterances. The fact is that in moods of metaphysical contemplation when he wanted to understand the process of human thought and emotion he gave his allegiance to contemporary thinkers, but when poetic inspiration was within him the psychology of association gave him no help, and the system to which he was " intellectually committed " stood before him in all its bareness.[1] He would then bring to bear upon life an idealistic outlook which owed the mastery of the great teachers of antiquity—Plato and Plotinus, combined with the enlightenment that had come through personal experience. In such moments he rose on the wings of faith with the halo of mysticism around his head, and spoke to us of "heaven and infinite." Under that ultimate guidance he used to find his way to the spiritual destination, and it was from that region that he drew his sources of sympathy, the love of God, and " the highest reaches of the moral sense " in man.[2]

Coleridge, we accordingly claim, never became a prisoner "within the outline of any single dogmatic system." Although the natural attitude of his mind was towards philosophy, and he wanted the satisfaction of his reason through metaphysics, yet he could divorce it from the satisfaction of the heart, the "religious feeling" as he chose to call it in his letter to Benjamin Fowler. This feeling, according to him, was the one way of being cognisant of the Ultimate Truth. Nature, consequently, yields her delight to him not through an observant eye and an attentive ear, but when the experience of the senses is transcended by submitting one's whole being to her influences. She then "keeps the heart awake to Love and Beauty,"[3] and her sensuous objects waken the 'working soul' to 'thousand phantasies."[4] The mind in such a mood detaches itself from the appearance of things, and seeks to understand its underlying meaning. It is not a synthesis of ideas superficially formed, but a complete absorption in the contemplation of the inner significance of the object, best understood

> "When the soul seeks to hear; when all is hushed,
> And the heart listens."[5]

We have a record of such a "splendid apocalypse" in "*The Aeolian Harp*" where the charm of music dissolves the real world, the bodily senses sleep, and the spirit awakens in a world where music is

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[1] J. Shawcross : Introductory Essay ; p. xxv

[2] Arthur Beatty : "William Wordsworth," p. 119. Prof. Beatty does not uphold this view.

[3] " Lime Tree Bower."

[4] "To the Nightingale."

[5] " Reflections on Having Left A Place of Retirement."

"the one great reality and rhythm the ruling principle of all things."[1] Here we have a strong emotional element in which the entire "responsive mechanism" of the poet has been set free to function, and he yields to the rich sensation of life, a consciousness of which is the starting-point of all inspiration. And once the soul starts on its journey, to its "dilated eye"

"All doth seem
Less gross than bodily; and of such hues
As veil the Almighty Spirit, when yet he makes
Spirits perceive his presence." [2]

The garb of sense-perception is thus transcended, and the mind grasps the inmost reality which is the presence of the Divine Spirit manifesting itself through the organism of "living Nature". Under the influence of such "blest intuitions and communions fleet", all the details of Nature are unified into one great flow of life, and all facts explained by the one Universal Principle of Love, which makes the poet sing in true Platonic spirit:

"Oh! the one life within us and abroad,
Which meets all motion and becomes its soul,
A light in sound, a sound-like power in light,
Rhythm in all thought and joyance everywhere." [3]

This is pantheism that makes the Deity wholly immanent in the diverse phenomena of Nature and helps man to discover one divine life stirring in all. But pantheism could not be the creed of Coleridge whose mind was capable of rising to the higher point of view of transcendentalism. With his choice of the analogy of musical harmony he makes God not only immanent but transcendental,—the great Spirit of Harmony, or the great Musician Himself "calling forth the harmony latent in all creation" [4] in different degrees of perfection according to their diverse nature, in the same way as the wind, passing through various musical instruments, produces different notes:

"And what if all of animated nature
Be but organic harps diversely framed,
That trembles into thought, as o'er them sweeps

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[1] M. A Keeling: "Poems of Nature and Romance," notes, p. 226
[2] "This Lime-Tree Bower My Prison."
[3] "The Aeolian Harp."
[4] M. A. Keeling: "Peoms of Nature and Romance," p. 226.

Plastic and vast one intellectual breeze,
At once the Soul of each, and God of all?"[1]

It is the transcendentalism of Plotinus that we find here expressed by Coleridge. He conceives of God as a living and willing Presence, "Nature's vast ever-acting energy," "in will, in deed, impulse of All to all,"[2] the mode of whose working is objectified in different forms and grades of reality, from the simple forces of Nature to the conscious and responsible actions of man. He was the will exemplified in the forms of organised Nature, rising in graduated scale till it expressed itself in its highest form in man.

Faith in the unity that lies at the centre of all existences, something common in which they all participate, led Coleridge inevitably to attempt a symbolic interpretation of Nature. It is a favourite mode of thought with the mystics, and Coleridge seems to be re-writing Plato when he says:

"All that meets the bodily sense I deem
Symbolical, one mighty alphabet
For infant minds; and we in this low world
Placed with our backs to bright reality,
That we may learn with young unwounded ken
The substance from its shadow."[3]

Here, as well as in a later poem, "*Frost at Midnight*," the symbolism of the alphabet finds special favour with Coleridge. To us the reason appears to be its aptitude for conveying the transcendental significance of the universe which the poet seeks to bring home to his readers. A word is a combination of letter which apparently unconnected, but combined by the interpreting mind, or in Kantian language, interpreted by a synthetic act of the understanding, convey a meaning otherwise concealed from the view. Similarly, Nature could be nothing more than a "conglomeration of particulars"[4] with no spiritual significance, so long as she was studied in her broken fragments. She refused to yield her meaning to the merely "sciential reason" that was not initiated into the secret of her spiritual meaning. And for gaining this insight a training such as mentioned in the passage quoted above was indispensable for the human mind. Fettered by the chains of physical nature and with its spiritual element in infancy the soul can only hope to gain a knowledge of Reality by looking in everything for a deeper and more symbolic meaning than is revealed by a cursory view of it. The finite intelligence like a little child, is incapable of comprehending a full flood of divine truth if suddenly revealed. It must prepare itself for its reception through a slow process of growth. By the aid of symbolism it will gradually be able to gain the consciousness of the Divine as it finds His glory, power, and love effulgent "through meaner powers and secondary things,"[1] and once this consciousness is awakened, and Nature is looked upon as a harmonious whole, she becomes real and intelligible—the eternal Divine language written in Matter and comprehended by the power of the Mind through which man is noumenally related to God. We thus have due recognition of the reality of the individual objects along with an anticipation of the teachings of Kant that examines the process of our consciousness and goes beyond experience. It accepts the free power of the human mind that gives man "a superiority to the unconscious forces of the material world," differentiates him from the surrounding existences, and enables him to recognise his origin in God.

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[1] "The Aeolian Harp."
[2] "The Aeolian Harp."
[3] "The Destiny of Nations."
[4] J. Shawcross: Introductory Essay, p. xxv.

The poems of the first period of the poetic career of Coleridge, therefore, disclose to us the mental conflict that was going on at the time in the mind of the poet. In them is effectively reflected the fluidity of his mind, which could not stay long at one anchor of thought, but passed from one speculative system to another, and delighted in extracting truth from every one of them. In the words of Southey: "Hartley was ousted by Berkeley, Berkeley by Spinoza, and Spinoza by Plato; when last I saw him Jacob Behmen had some chance of coming in. The truth is that he played with systems." What, however, appeared to the little mind of Southey as play was really the insatiable thirst of a great mind for truth. He derived it from every source according to his personal need. He took his stand upon common-sense, and recognised the powers of the mind, but was, at the same time, convinced that there could be no finality in human thought, and that there was more behind the veil which could not be discovered by an exercise of our ordinary

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[1] "The Destiny of Nations."

MASS EDUCATION IN INDIA

AMALESH GHOSE, M.A., B.T.

III

PRIMARY EDUCATION TILL THE MONT-FORD REFORMS

AT least a decade before the enquiry of Mr. W. Adam, (during 1835-38), into the condition of Indigenous Primary schools of all types, one hundred thousand of which existed in the province of Bengal alone, in a disorganised state, the Missionaries had started opening Primary schools in the vicinity of their centres of work, which were located near the principal provincial towns like Calcutta, Bombay, Patna etc. None but the Missionaries had realised at that time that the Masses could be successfully educated only through the Medium of the Vernaculars and they were seriously engaged in their work of vigorously pushing through the publication of Books, Pamphlets etc. printed by them in the Vernacular. Societies were formed in Calcutta and Bombay for the expansion of Primary education with the help of the Government grants. The functions of these Societies were later taken up by the provincial Boards of Education when they were formed, by the year 1840. The limited resources and the condition of the country did not permit them to carry on their programme beyond a certain limit. The Organisation, Curriculum and Expansion of Primary Education rested more on the voluntary efforts of individuals interested in the education of the Masses and the limited resources, coupled with a lack of Policy, did not allow the Government to launch upon a systematic programme on a wide scale. The acceptance by the Government of the "*filtration theory*" of educating the Masses through the intelligentsia gave incentive to the expansion of Secondary Education only. This received further stimulus in the statement of Policy in the Despatch of 1854, in the creation of the Universities and in the introduction of the Grant-in-aid system for the expansion of education in the higher stages to the detriment of Primary Education.

In the south, the Government gave legal sanction to the attempts in this direction for the betterment of the Rajamundry type of schools by the promulgation of the Madras Town Improvements Act, which repealed the Voluntary Education Act of 1863, by which that type of schools received stimulus to grow. By this Act of 1871, the Municipal Commissioners were given powers to devote a part of their Funds for the expansion of Education.

The Collector of Midnapur, Mr. H. L. Harrison, devised a method of encouraging the *Gurus* of the Primary schools. Awards were made to the heads of Primary schools on the Results of the Examination of their pupils. The Report of the New Castle Commission of 1862 and the Revised Educational Code of England of the same year in which such provisions were made, may have caught the imagination of Mr. Harrison, in introducing the scheme in his district. For good or for bad, this 'Payment by Results' system was introduced. The Director of Public Instruction was asked by the Government in 1873 to try the scheme in the other districts of the province. Thus the system was gradually extended and was adopted at other places. The result of the introduction of this system was that a great many schools which would otherwise have been unwilling, came under the control of the Department of Education. This system worked well for a pretty long time till its abolition in 1905.

A system of *Circle Schools* existed in the N. W. Provinces and the Punjab. By this, the Head of a Central School used to inspect and supervise the working of a number of schools in his area. This system was introduced into Bengal also and it worked successfully for sometime. The Hunter Commission observed :—

> "It has been found to be far more effective of its object than any system heretofore tried. It appeared to be the best calculated to preserve and bring under organisation whatever indigenous schools exist in the country which are or can be utilised, as a part of the educational system."

This system had the salutary effect of improving the standard of Education.

As a result of the revision of the Rules for giving Grant-in-aid in 1877, which had been introduced since 1855, there was a great fall in the number of schools, as the revised Rules insisted on raising the standard of instruction. The Rules had to be revised again in 1880 to make the standard lower than what was required in the former. They were revised once again in 1883 and these, with the necessary modifications here and there, are followed at present in the Codes.

The Municipal and Local Government Acts of 1883-85, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, brought into existence Local Bodies with powers to open, maintain and manage Primary schools with Grant-in-aid from the Government. The salient feature of the recommendations was the encouragement of private enterprise. The result of these efforts was that there was a tremendous development of English Education in the higher branches. The courses of Instruction of both the Lower and Upper Primary schools were made more useful but were different in the different provinces. The provincial Governments used to set apart funds specially for the purpose of Primary Education and they used to open and maintain Primary schools specially in the backward areas.

Although the quality of instruction had improved by the raising of the standard of inspection and examination, there was a check in the progress of Primary education when the authorities directed their attention to the backward villages in the interior of the country. There, they looked upon education as something which was the privilege of the well-to-do. The programme of expansion met with little opposition in the urban and the otherwise accessible parts of the country. There, the question was one of quality. The interior backward tracts presented a different picture—the people there were unwilling to have the schools.

The effect of all these was that civic consciousness of the people were roused and there were animated activities in those bodies for the expansion of Primary Education but as indicated in the preceeding paragraph, the saturation point was soon reached when the authorities turned their attention to the backward areas under their jurisdiction. There, the people were loathe to appreciate the benefits of any sort of education and were even suspicious of the motives. This problem checked the growth of Primary education to a certain extent but it was partially solved by the opening of Primary schools which were maintained by the state, in the backward tracts of the country.

A limited amount of improvement having been achieved in the control, organisation and instruction, it was felt that a drive need be taken in the direction of improving the Curriculum in all the spheres of education. At the instance of Lord Curzon, there was a overhaul of the system and the Curriculum was revised in almost all the provinces so as to give it *an agricultural bias.*

With a view to improving the quality of instruction, the Government of India issued a Circular in 1911, after the withdrawal of the Resolution of Mr. Gokhale from the Central Legislature urging the introduction of Universal Primary Education in 1910, and after his Bill to the same effect had been defeated in the Legislative Council. This Circular of 1911 emphasised on the necessity of having teachers for the rural schools drawn as far as possible from the rural areas. It suggested that the number of pupils in each standard (for each teacher) should be fixed at 30 to 40, which, in special cases, may be increased to 50, and recommended that attempts should be made to allot the task of teaching separate classes to separate teachers. In the detailed Circular of 1913, the Government of India, admitted that no large expansion of Primary education was possible or advisable unless there was a sufficient number of trained teachers. They advised that attention should now be directed to the opening of Middle Vernacular Schools for the purpose of getting recruits for the training schools for the teachers of Primary Schools, in the rural areas, as it was thought that they might be best suited for the vocation. The Circular issued by the Central Government in 1918, reviewed the position as it stood since the previous issue. This Circular, for the first time, drew the attention of all to the "*Wastage*" from class to class in the Primary stage, and reiterated their view, previously expressed, of having better types of teachers with better Pay and particularly to the necessity of having better and qualified teachers to take the charge of the Infant classes where the Wastage was heaviest.

The Circulars of the Government of India was more of a reviewing nature, but they formed the basis of the course of action and the policy taken up by the provincial Governments and thus they had their influence on the activities of the provincial Departments of Education.

Just before the Reforms of 1919 were introduced, the provincial Legislatures enacted certain measures to make Compulsory Primary

Education permissive to the areas administered by the Local Bodies. The Control of the Government of India having ceased by now, they discontinued the practice of paying any financial aid to the provincial Governments. They, however, continued to pay the Imperial Grant of Rs 50 lacs, announced by the King-Emperor at the Delhi Durbar in 1911. For assisting any scheme for the expansion of Primary Education in the provinces, the Government used to sanction money from time to time as their funds permitted, and between 1913 and 1917, no less than a sum of Rs. 3,29 lacs non-recurring and Rs. 1,24 lacs recurring were granted for the provinces by the Central Government, in furtherance of the proposal contained in their Circulars of 1911 and 1913. They frequently asked the provinces to submit to them definite schemes for the expansion of Primary Education, and when received by them, these schemes were duly considered in their turn, and allotted money, as was available.

The funds at their disposal, however, were quite inadequate to meet the demands of the provinces and therefore, the grants were made proportionate to their requirements out of their available funds. The result was that no scheme could be taken up as a whole, and being introduced piece-meal, they could not gain the desired end. Neither could any successful scheme be evolved owing to the anticipated financial inadequacy. Still, the provincial Governments hoped to receive financial support from the Central Government who in their turn, were besieged with requests for grants much above their capacity to pay. Schemes were prepared and enthusiastically awaited sanction, but financial stringency came in their way of success. They were thus unnecessarily held up. New and unforseen circumstances appeared in the field and the proposals had to be re-cast and the mode of approach to the problem had to be altered.

Then the Government of India put forward a definite proposal and set forth a programme for the ten years to follow. In 1918, a Circular was issued which set forth that they intended to provide for the facilities for the extension of Primary Education, through local Bodies and gave a hint that Compulsion may be applied. They proposed to meet one-third of the cost, the provincial Governments were to pay one-third and the remaining one-third was to be met out of the Funds of the Local Bodies, for bringing the scheme into operation. The provisions of the Mont-Ford Reforms came in the way of further interest being taken by the Government of India, and so it fell through. The Reforms Constitution prevented the Central Government from giving any direction and the question of financial aid was not thought of. Education as a *Transferred subject* came under the control of the popular Ministers, who were responsible to the elected representatives of the people.

Before the inauguration of the Reforms, the Central Government considered themselves responsible for the initiation of Policy on all matters, including educational, for the whole of India, and the provincial Governments were regarded as their Agents in carrying out their proposals and their Policy. Besides any new proposals for educational enactment required the previous sanction of the Government of India before being introduced. The provisions of the Bills of the provincial Governments used to be examined in all their aspects before according sanction.

As a result of the relegation of this authority of controlling the Policy on Education, a Central Advisory Board was formed in 1921, which may be regarded as a body taking the place of the annual Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction of the Provinces of India. This Central Board, consisting generally of eminent educationists and administrators, used to meet three or four times a year and discussed the Policy, etc. to be adopted. The activities of the Board were conducive to the healthy development of education but it was discontinued in 1923 as a measure of economy. The need of the existence of such a Board was soon perceived and after a lapse of about 12 years, it was revived in the year 1935.

The Central Bureau of Education also was useful and a necessary adjunct to the Central Board. The Bureau not only reviewed the state of the progress of Education of India as a whole and thus enabled each province to become well-aware of the activities of the other and their flaws, but it also did some valuable work by publishing pamphlets on the growth and tendencies of education in the other countries, thus presenting good materials for comparison and indicating the line along which improvement may be made. This Bureau which had been abolished has now been revived.

There is also a proposal to form a National Committee of intellectual co-operation and make the Central Advisory Board, the National Centre of Educational Information.

IV

PRIMARY EDUCATION SINCE 1919

By the year 1919, the provinces of Bengal, Bihar, the U. P. and the Punjab got their Primary Education Acts passed and the other provinces had theirs soon afterwards. The Madras Act—was passed in 1920; the Bombay Act in 1923; the C. P. Act in 192) and the Assam Act in 1926. The amendments were made as and when necessity arose. The Local Self-Government Acts, which were passed since 1919, constituting and defining the powers and duties of the Local, Union and District Boards, besides making them subordinate self-governing institutions, imposed on the Bodies the task of the opening and the supervision of Primary Schools with the help of grants received from the Government, ear-marked for the purpose, and empowering them to levy land or property tax, if necessary. Some of the Municipalities and Corporations were empowered to introduce compulsion if they found it expedient to adopt the measure. Government, in any case, did not divest themselves of the financial responsibility to a certain extent. In some cases the position became anomalous. The Minister-in-charge of Education had no control over the administration of the education department of some of these self-governing institutions. No outside control in the management of this nation-building department may be considered beneficial to its actual working, but the real state of things revealed a lack of true spirit in those responsible for the management of Primary Schools, due perhaps more to the want of administrative experience than anything else.

In the urban areas, specially in places like the big cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, Delhi, etc., and the other provincial towns of some magnitude, the progress of Primary Education of some of them has been up to the expectations and has moved on without any impediment. In the rural areas the position has been far from satisfactory, as revealed by the provincial Reviews of Education, although it has considerably improved from what it was during the eighties of the last century. The real position in the U. P. was depressing. There the Government Inspectors were placed under the control of the Chairmen of the Local Education Boards but their pay used to be met out of the government treasury. Thus, being deprived of the controlling authority, the Minister-in-charge was unable to carry out the programme as outlined in the Policy. Receiving the Inspection Notes when called for, did not, in any way alter the position. If he wanted to see an improved state of things, he had no other alternative but to ask the Legislative Council to modify their decision and give him the authority to enforce the Policy by amending the previous Acts. On the plea that, that will amount to virtually withdrawing some of the privileges granted to the self-governing institutions and transferring them back to the departmental control from popular management, the governments did not take the initiative in this matter and therefore the condition of Primary Education showed signs of deterioration.

The outstanding feature, in respect of Education in most of the Local Bodies, is the lack of a definite Policy and of administrative experience of the members. When the local Bodies were allowed to administer the scheme of the expansion of Primary Education, the underlying motive may have been a desire to let the members learn by their mistakes and gain experience thereby. In some places, at least, there is evidence to show, that this has been used for personal gain and to serve personal interests and party factions. In a place which is preponderatingly uneducated, the result may not have been otherwise and it may continue unabated unless there is provision of some sort of a check, like a regular inspection and insistence on periodical reports from executive officers. The goal is to get an intelligent electorate, who can read and write and are well-equipped with the knowledge of the outstanding events affecting their lives. The sooner it is obtained without a feeling of distrust anywhere, the better for all.

The District Educational Councils formed in Madras with Officials and non-Officials, as representatives of different interests, seem to be a satisfactory arrangement. But there is room for improvement in this also. The Councils should have enough money and a sufficient number of Inspectors, not for extravagance but for ensuring expenditure in the right direction and for properly carrying out the provisions of the Acts passed by the Legislatures.

In the Punjab, where the District Educational Councils are presided over by the District Commissioners, as a rule, the administration has run successfully with much better results. Official Control and administrative experience appear to be indispensable for the organisation and the extension of Primary Education in the Rural areas. Voluntary efforts without the proper check have not produced good results, of late.

In respect of Official Control, the non-official mind seems to be prejudiced against the official mind. No less note-worthy is the desire for Power on the part of the non-official. But this tendency neglects the fact that education is essentially a nation-building subject and therefore it needs a special, unprejudiced treatment for getting effective results. The officials and the non-officials may work together and the efficient management of the department will be an index to the eagerness as well as the ability for good and successful administration. Opinions, however, widely held, on public affairs, may not be divided in this field.

Neither the figures nor the number of schools in British India as a whole, will indicate the real progress made in regard to Primary Education. The Progress of Primary Education, which has been remarkable and unprecedented in its history, during the Reforms, has neither been uniform nor graduated throughout the provinces, taken separately. In some, the progress is characterised by efficient management or by phenomenal increase in the number of schools and the scholars, in the others, by the inception of new Policy. Taking into account that India is a country of diverse Races and Languages, and that allowance must be made for local conditions, there is no reason why there should not be any uniformity in general Policy and Control. The flaws and the short-comings in one may be easily rectified in the others and thus each province may gain by the experience of others and by comparison much better results may be secured.

In British India, about 19·2 millions, out of a total population of 250 millions are literates, *i.e.*, about 8% (7·5% in 1929) of the people can read and write. With an increase of population in recent years the percentage may have remained stationary. This alone is sufficient to indicate how much more has to be done in order to get an intelligent electorate who may be called literates.

The population of school-going age to total population is about 14% and those under instruction form about 5·2% of the total. That is, about 8·8% more of the total population of school-going age are receiving no instruction at present. The growth of this percentage in the last 8 years is interesting :—

Percentage of Scholars in the Schools to Total Population

Year	Male	Female	Total
1929-30	8·07	1·88	5·06
1930-31	7·36	1·8	4·67
1931-32	7·33	1·89	4·7
1932-33	7·32	1·98	4·73
1933-34	7·44	2·09	4·85
1934-35	7·58	2·2	4·97
1935-36	7·72	2·29	5·09
1936-37	7·86	2·38	5·2

It will appear from this that although the percentage has increased, the figures for the male scholars have been varying and shows little signs of improvement to reach the figure of 1929-30. It is evident from the figures that more girls are now attending the schools and their percentage has been steadily rising every year. It is an encouraging sign indeed.

In the year 1911, there were 17·4 million boys and 17·7 million girls in British India, of whom only 6·5 millions were attending the schools. That is, about 18% of the total number of boys and girls were receiving instruction, and of them, as much as 15% were in the Primary stage !

The number of boys and girls in the Primary stage during the years 1917-1937 is given in the following table. It will be found that the highest increase during these years was in 1925-26. The increase was tremendous and the record shows a tendency to move upwards. There was an increase of 6,90,000 scholars and 9,300 schools during the period 1925-26.

Number of Boys and Girls in the Primary Schools

Year	Total No. of Pupils	Boys only	Girls only
1917	64,04,200	52,88,803	11,15,497
1923-24	69,55,634	56,90,820	12,64,814
1926-27	82,56,760	67,07,479	15,49,281
1927-28	87,12,968	70,31,554	16,81,414
1928-29	90,13,591	72,13,518	18,00,073
1929-30	92,24,048	73,32,678	18,91,406
1930-31	93,62,748	73,81,199	19,81,549
1933-34	98,06,356	75,12,279	22,94,079
1934-35	1,00,89,762	76,80,088	24,09,584
1935-36	1,03,08,403	78,03,326	25,05,077
1936-37	1,16,58,584	90,47,007	26,11,577

The following table gives the total number of boys' and girls' Primary Schools with their enrolment.

Year	No. of Schools for Boys	Male Scholars	No. of Schools for Girls	Female Scholars
1923-24	1,44,430	56,90,000	23,586	12,64,814
1929-30	1,72,686	73,32,678	31,408	18,91,406
1933-34	1,66,880	75,12,279	34,054	22,94,077
1934-35	1,66,588	76,80,088	33,785	24,09,584
1935-36	1,65,240	78,03,326	32,618	25,05,077
1936-37	1,64,894	90,47,007	32,333	26,11,577

From the fore-going Tables it will be apparent that although the number of schools for Boys and Girls is slightly decreasing, the number of scholars is steadily going up, pointing to the fact of increased enrolment in each school and perhaps, better instruction and weeding out of the less important and unnecessary schools. A process of consolidation may be slowly taking place. Besides, the figures for the Boys and for the Girls in the Tables, there are a number of them in the lower Forms of High and Middle schools. However, there was an increase of 6,234 schools and of 10,84,319 scholars over the figures of 1930, in the year 1935-36.

Included in the Tables are the figures for the special schools for the Backward Classes and Muktabs, which are institutions for the Muslims. Out of a total of about 45,000 schools for Boys and 17,500 schools for Girls in Bengal during 1936, there were no less than 25,000 Muktabs *i.e.*, special schools for the Muslims.

The percentages for boys and girls of school-going age who are attending the schools are worth perusal. In 1917, 30·3% boys and 6·7% girls ; in 1922, 31·5% boys and 7·7% girls ; in 1927, 42·1% boys and 10·4% girls ; in 1932, 42·2% boys and in 1937, 51·7% boys, of the total number of boys and girls of school-going age were receiving some sort of education in the schools. That is, about 48% boys, and more than 85% girls of school-going age, are receiving no education at all. The percentage for girls has steadily improved and that of the boys showed a gradual improvment from about 30% in 1917 to about 52% in 1937, in the course of a decade. It is an encouraging sign to note the gradual increase in the case of girls.

The percentage of the total number of pupils to the total population increased but with a snail's pace from 3·77% in 1923-24 ; 4·7% in 1930-31 ; to about 5·2% in 1937. The percentage of the total number of boys and girls of school-going age to the total population is reckoned at about 14%. Therefore, at present about 9% more boys and girls of the total population, have to be brought to school.

The figures for the total direct expenditure on Primary Education in British India, have gone up considerably since the organisation of Primary Education on a systematic basis. The total amount spent for Primary Education was about Rs. 50 lacs in 1877-78 and it rose gradually to about Rs. 7 crores in 1927 and stood at Rs. 8.37 crores in 1937. A perusal of the figures may be illuminating. The percentage of the total direct expenditure on Primary Education only, to total expenditure on Education, had been between 24% to 30%

i.e., Primary Education consumed about one-fourth to one-third of the total amount spent on education in India, as a whole.

The following Table gives the amount spent on Primary Education, and the total amount spent on Education, during the years noted against each year.

Year	Amount in Crores spent on Primary Education.	Total amount in Crores spent on Education in India.
	Rs.	Rs.
1892	·92 crores	
1897	11·0 ,,	
1902	1·18 ,,	4-01 crores
1907	1·55 ,,	5.59 ,,
1912	2·07 ,,	7.85 ,,
1917	2·93 ,,	11.28 ,,
1922	5·09 ,,	18.37 ,,
1927	6·95 ,,	24.48 ,,
1932	8·12 ,,	27.18 ,,
1937	8·37 ,,	28.05 ,,

The provincial figures for the total amount spent by them on account of Primary Education is interesting for the sake of comparison. While Madras spends about Rs. 2·35 crores, and Bombay and Sind spend a little over Rs. 2 crores, Bengal with a population which exceeds that of Madras and which is more than double that of Bombay, spends only Rs. ·83 crores. U.P. spends about Rs. 1 crore and the Punjab a little more than half a crore of rupees. The total provincial expenditure is not evenly distributed and bear an uneven ratio to the number of scholars and schools to the total amount, on Primary Education, by them.

Total Direct Expenditure on Primary Education by Provinces

(In lacs of Rupees)

Provinces	1917	1922	1927	1932	1937
Bengal	44·52	54·08	67·61	82·06	83·69
Bombay	63·48	149·53	198·83	205·47	177·36
Madras	70·13	106·49	170·51	234·72	235·76
The U. P.	28·80	67·42	84·31	95·25	95·22
The Punjab	19·65	34·32	42·34	47·98	52·31
B & O	27·62	36·51	55·86	57·03	49·04
C. P. and Berar	16·15	28·22	32·61	35·60	38·68
Burma	10·36	14·39	20·07	24·67	24·39
Assam	7·51	9·12	11·18	13·40	14·62
N. W. F. P.				4·88	5·67
Sind					31·32
Orissa					16·20
Coorg				1·15	2·06
Delhi				4·22	4·88
Ajmer & Merwara				2·12	2·39
Baluchistan				·74	1·28
Bangalore				1·45	1·63
Other Provinces				1·18	2·06
British India *Total*	293·14	509·08	695·22	812·00	837·77

It will be seen from this that the total expenditure has increased gradually according to the needs of the increasing number of scholars and schools in the provinces. And since, wastage has diminished with an increase in expenditure, it is apparent that the increased amount has enabled the administration to keep a better watch on the growth of Primary Education.

The progress of Primary Education during the ten years 1917-27 has been rapid. It had moved with such a heavy stride that the existing arrangement of Inspection and of the Training of Teachers could hardly meet the increased demand. The number of Inspectors was found insufficient to deal efficiently with the increased pressure of work, and they were required to handle so large a number of schools and made to cover so wide an area in this land of ill-provided and insufficiently arranged communications, for the purpose of inspecting schools, that they could hardly do justice to their duty and consequently, they were obliged, it may be presumed, to confine their attention to the routine work in the offices.

Province.	Average number of Primary Schools per Inspector.	Average Area covered by each Inspector.
Madras ...	142 schools	3·07 sq. miles
Bombay ...	Inspected by Boards	10·06 „
Bengal ...	172 schools	2·01 „
The U. P. ...	92 „	5·65 „
Burma ...	29 „	59·7 „
The C. P. & Berar ...	57 „	23·84 „
The Punjab ...	40 „	16·89 „
B. & O. ...	106 „	3·03 „
Assam ...	104 „	12·1 „

The figures in the fore-going Table will sufficiently illustrate the point for the explanation of the wide differences of area and the magnitude of the task of the Inspectors of Primary Schools.

Since the beginning of this century, at the instance of Lord Curzon, greater attention has been paid to the opening of Middle Vernacular Schools. The M. V. Schools were looked upon as the best nurturing fields for the teachers of Rural Primary Schools and for the recruitment of prospective candidates for the Training Schools for Teachers. The number of M. V. Schools was not sufficient although special encouragement used to be given for the opening and the maintenance of these schools and during the Reforms, these institutions, gradually came into disfavour and their number dwindled further. In Bengal specially, they became unpopular, and 47 only of them are now in existence. But although this field of recruitment of teachers for Primary Schools has been seriously affected due to this source, the places are naturally taken up by better and qualified persons who hold the Matriculation or even better certificates. With the inducement of better pay and prospects, persons with better educational qualifications may be given special training for Rural work and the amenities of Rural life, in rural reconstruction work, so to say, and then they may be sent out with the expectation that they will do much better work than their predecessors. It is obvious, therefore, that what is more needed in the matter of getting better teachers for the Primary schools, is an inducement of better pay and prospects, and perhaps, security of service. Bombay has given the lead in this direction and others may follow.

Average monthly Pay of Teachers

	Rs.	A.		Rs.	A.
Madras ...	15	4	Punjab ...	25	8
Bombay ...	47	0	Burma ...	33	1
Bengal ...	8	6	B. & O. ...	11	15
U. P. ...	18	8	C. P. ...	24	8
Assam ...	14	4			

The pay of the Primary School teacher is generally low but in Bengal, specially, and in B. and O. it is disgraceful, and the teacher's pay naturally does not attract the right type of men. Those who work as teachers, therefore, have to divide their attention for this and some other profession, if they have to put their body and soul together. How is it possible to obtain the services of an educated and promising man for this work on a pay, much below that of a day-labourer? It stands to reason therefore, that the teachers are not only not properly qualified and trained but also, they are not up to the occasion, but simply carry on their day-to-day duty to keep the system going.

The question of Primary Education and therefore of Mass Education of India, is intimately connected with the broader problems of the welfare of the villages as will be apparent from an examination of the number of villages and the occupation of her people. An improvement of the system of Primary Education in the Rural Areas, will automatically mean an improvement in the problems of the villages also. They are so closely related to each other that one cannot be considered without the other and the whole problem should be tackled from that point of view.

In British India, about 87% of the population live in the villages; 75% of the population are Agriculturists; 10% of the population depend on the Industries of various kinds and 5·5% on the Trades. There are 2 cities with a population of more than a million; 34 cities with a population of more than a lac; 2,500 towns with a population of between 5,000 and a lac, and the number of villages verge on half a million. About 18 crores of her people live in the villages with less than 2,000 persons in each and there are more than 3 lacs and a half villages with less than 500 persons, and their aggregate population is more than 7 crores. About 13% of the total population of India live in the towns and cities and the rest live in the villages.

The Linlithgow Commission on Agriculture laid emphasis on this great problem of the villages and the mode of living of the villagers. They recommended that improvement in the life of the rural population was necessary to have an all-round prosperity of the country, if any real progress was to be achieved. The urban population do not present very striking difficulties as regards their provision of Primary Education. Some of the big cities having taken to compulsion by degrees, the problem is being solved in its course. In all, about 120 Municipalities and 1600 Boards have applied the option of Compulsion in their jurisdiction. In spite of all these efforts, there are large numbers of boys and girls of school-going age, in the urban areas, specially of the backward classes, who do not attend any school. These children make up the bulk of those, some of whom perhaps, attend the Night schools in the towns and cities. But the fact that there are not many Night schools to accommodate them has also to be taken into consideration. So, efforts should be made to direct the energies to this aspect of the problem of bringing those children to the school.

Besides these children in the urban areas, there are many boys and girls in the Rural areas, who have not yet been given any chance of learning the three R's and they should now be taken care of. In these localities, the children of the Agriculturists are made to work in the fields and to do hundred-and-one duties to help the family in their daily rotuine as Agriculturists, as soon as they become, in any way, serviceable to them. The Artisans, the Traders and even the workers in the village industries, make use of the services of their wards in their Arts, as soon as their children reach the 8th or 9th year, they are drifted on to the services of their parent and become adjuncts to the bread-earning problems of the family. The children of the lower classes in society become menials in the house-hold of upper-class people, sometimes without any monetary gain, or they become apprentices in the farm as labourers. In this way, the most impressionable age and the most valuable time, in the development of the mind, body and health of the majority of the children in the villages is wasted. In the later life of these children, when they become adults, they hardly find any time and any energy to make up the lost time, which has perhaps been unprofitably spent during their early years.

THE LOVE POETRY OF JOHN DONNE*

SUDHIR KUMAR CHATTERJEA, M.A.

IT is usually said that the past shall have a glory from afar. The remark contains a sarcasm which mildly but surely condemns those who delight in things of the past. And a reader of John Donne is not safe from ridicule. The ridicule will be of a twofold character. On the one side he will be accused of having a puerile modern craze; and on the other side he will be jeered as seeming to be a 'oner' at something old and obscure and therefore learned. As a matter of fact, there have been few in literary history who have received praise and opprobrium in such amazing abundance as has our poet, John Donne. 'Wring the neck of rhetoric', said Verlaine; and we were once struck outright with the idea; and we do at times think of shedding our literary artifices as far as possible. But when it comes to reading Donne, the same old world complaint of lack of word-value is made. In fact, we are seldom ready to lay down the knapsack of rhetoric, even when we will go to a really serious poet. And Donne cannot but choose to disappoint such readers. It is, therefore, so easy to tire of John Donne. One has to make up one's mind for a serious intellectual exercise before choosing to go through a John Donne poem. My own inadequately intellectual approach will account for any inaccuracy of judgment that I may be guilty of.

There are some critics who over-emphasise the philosophical side of Donne's poetry. Miss Mary Paton Ramsay in an otherwise brilliant essay[1] calls John Donne a schoolman. Premise: Donne's early Catholic training and later acquaintance with the Italian and Spanish mystics; deduction,—Donne must be a school man in thought and in literary activity. There are others again who find the relation between Donne's mental cast and Dante's a good deal closer than it actually is. All this necessitates a close study on our part of the Dante personality and the Donne personality. The difference between their manners of approach will be clear only on a determination of the literary precedents which Donne made use of or revolted against. And this tracing of the philosophical background of Donne's poetry will not be irrelevant to our consideration of a particular aspect of his poetry, namely that dealing with love. In fact, Donne has viewed love not merely as an emotional turmoil of the heart, but as an experience which is conterminous with life. Love to him seems to be very difficult of correct understanding, and makes him as intellectually alert as one would be in dealing with the Metaphysical problem of the Many and the One. The problem of reconciling the flesh with the soul is the most fundamental of problems; and this problem is the key-note of Donne's love-experience. In fact, he is a poet of love, first, and of everything else next. It is, therefore, that we should at the very outset consider his attitude to life, and determine in what respect he differs from the Scholastics and especially from Dante. We shall do well to indicate here in brief the main tendencies of medieval thought and see what shape it took in Dante.

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[1] *Vide* A Garland for John Donne—Edited by Theodore Spencer.

* Read at the Poetry Society, Calcutta, on December 3, 1940. Some slight changes have since been made in the paper.

There is a common misunderstanding among many that medieval philosophy consisted in mere abstract speculation and that it both began and concluded in an *a priori* fashion. We shall do well here to consider the main mission that scholastic philosophy made it a point to fulfil. Christianity from the very beginning had a message to give to the world; and for a proper medium through which to disseminate its ideas and ideals it turned to Greek. But then, neo-platonism and Islamic philosophy with a considerable infusion of Greek thought in it wanted to bang the door in the face of this intruder. It is as a counter-movement against the menace to Christian philosophy of neo-Platonism and the Greek-derived teachings of Averroes and Avicenna that scholastic philosophy shaped itself in the beginning. The fundamental difference between Greek philosophy and Christian philosophy is that while the Greek philosopher's approach was the approach of a ratiocinative mind, the approach of the Christian was that of one possessed with faith. Plato has a metaphysical system in which he considers the soul to be the mediator between supra-mundane God and the material world. Plato's God, in the last analysis, is the supreme unity of all ideas of the invisible world, in which these ideas exist. The whole thing is thus a metaphysical pattern in which the living faith of a Christian is absent. Christianity, in its essence, is a call to obedience, and not so much to argument. Jesus is the only Son of God whom every Christian must accept as the only Saviour of mankind. Aristotle, who believes in the eternity of matter, while looking upon God as the only Real Being, gives us a system which is more of an explanation of the cosmic universe than a faith radiant with life and hope. The idea of a God as a Person in the supremest sense, which is of the core of Christianity, was something altogether foreign to Greek philosophy. The Arabs again made a synthesis out of Aristotelian philosophy and a little of neo-Platonism which proved of great peril to Christian thought. Now, medieval philosophy attempted a defence of the Christian faith by putting it in the crucible of Aristotelian logic and even so proving to the world that its validity was unassailable. St. Thomas Acquinas, the most representative of the Schoolmen, emphasises the distinction between essence and existence, while differentiating act from potentiality. God is the only Being existing in essence, and all other existents are individual by reason of their imperfect beings owing their real but limited status to Him. His theory of analogy expresses the limits of our ignorance and knowledge ; and it becomes patent that we can never know God in the absolute sense, but by analogy can ascribe to Him nothing but the highest excellences. Now these Schoolmen were all out to reconcile their faith with reason. Acquinas has quite a large number of hymns instinct with faith, but he also tries to justify his faith by reference to the Aristotelian interpretation of the eternity of the phenomenal world with God as the controlling and motivating power. With the Scholastics faith always took precedence of reason, as is well-evident in their observation, ' Credo ut intelligam.' (I believe so that I may understand). They believe in God as the supreme unity of all individual intellect and will which is only empirically real. They also hold that the individual has an inborn infirmity which can be cured only by divine help. Certain disintegrating tendencies were, of course, noticeable in some Schoolmen, as for example, in Eurigena with his pantheistic leaning, in Duns Scotus who considers the concept of being as univocal, the individual being only an analogue of God's Being, and in Ockham with his rigidly logical bent of mind. But in the main, Scholastic philosophy believes in the relatively real existence of the individual and urges the necessity of worship and service to God, Who is the only Absolute Being.

Now our Dante, who gave the love-motive a great momentum, and was thus responsible for poets like Petrarch and Boccaccio to take up the love-theme as the only releasing force of their poetical genius, was a child of the Scholastic faith. The mystical element that we find in them owes its birth to the influence of the Bologna School of poetry, in a certain measure, and is to be noticed even in the Schoolman, St. Bernard of Clairvoux. The idea of a mystical relationship between the soul and her Heavenly Bridegroom which is so dominant in St. Bernard, has a counterpart in Dante's mystic worship of woman. Dante's designation of his beloved as 'La gloriosa donna della mia mente' (The glorious woman of my mind) is clearly an echo of St. Bernard's soul yearning for communion with the Heavenly Bridegroom, though the background in Dante is largely different from that in St. Bernard. St. Bernard's poems like 'Jesu duclis memoria,' and others have, in a considerable measure, the mystical attitude to be followed up consistently later by Dante.

Now, one other thing to be taken into consideration in connection with the medieval attitude to love is the Provencal tradition of singing of love, as if love was the only pied-à tèrre for man amid the rush and tear of general existence. Now this love also curiously combined with the Schoolman's reconciling the visibly real with the other-worldly which is only imperfectly perceptible. From the stigma of being considered a disease infecting the soul and atrophying the body, as in most ancients like Ovid and others, love swiftly changed to the First Principle of life in medieval culture. How the change was effected presents a long and intricate history. Perhaps it was because of a reaction against the obviously unsound conception of love held in old times or it also may be due to the fact that the presence of a beautiful and hazel-eyed lady had a soothing effect on knights fighting one another. Anyway people in those days came to look upon love as something very serious and important indeed. And if modern love claims superiority over medieval love in respect of a proper apportioning of values, medieval love is unsurpassed in its specific gravity. The Troubadours of France carried this tradition to Italy because of easy communication with the country lying south of the Alps. The German minnesängers were also imbued with the same spirit and they were in very close touch with the Troubadours of France. The relation that subsisted between them was almost one of action and reaction. Now according to these people no woman without love could be considered a 'dompna' a very high honour indeed ; and no man without the same tingle of the spine could be called 'gentil'. Bernart of Ventadour is conspicuous among the Troubadours for giving expression to this conception of love in many of his love-lyrics, as they ought to be properly called. Now this medieval outlook on love combined with the Platonic and Aristotelianised Christianity of the medieval school had much to do in giving ballast to Dante's treatment of love.

Apart from the fact that Dante, in his Divina Comedia, had a fling at many of the social customs of his time and had quite a good many things to say about the theological and astronomical stock-in-trade of the time, and even about the Established Church of Rome, Dante does not fail, in this book, to apotheosise his Beatrice ad absurdum. Dante, in his ascent of heaven, imagines St. John to assure him that Beatrice will do for him what Ananias did for Paul:

> " Perchè la Donna che per quèsta dia
> region ti conduce, ha nello sgardo
> la virtù ch' ebbe la man d' Anania." *

And then in a moment of unbounded exuberance Dante exclaims:

> " E se nature od arte fa' pasture
> da pigliore per aver la mente,
> in carne umano o nelle sue pitture,
> Tutte adunate parrebber niente,
> Ver lo piacer divin che rifulse,
> quando mi volsi al suo viso ridente." *

Beatrice, the glorious woman of Dante's mind, is thus viewed not from the standpoint of the physical charm and even ' amore ', in the ordinary sense of the term, that she could offer, but from that of her being almost a releasing force of his poetical genius. Dante's imagination wanted a pair of wings to fly on, and Beatrice gave him the wings and flapped them for him. Beatrice could in no case evoke a

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* Lines 10—12, Paradiso XXVI.

Because the eyes of the Lady, through this land
divine conducting thee, irradiate
the power that was in Anania's hand!

—Translation by Melville B. Anderson.

* Lines 91—96, Paradiso, XXVII.

What nature made, or art, to captivate
the eye and give a banquet to the mind
in human flesh real or delineate,
All would appear nothing, though combined,
to the divine enjoyment glowing through me
on turning her smiling face to find.

—Translation by Anderson.

genuine passion in the poet because she was married to some other man and the poet was also comfortably in possession of a good wife. And a little bumping of the heart that the poet experienced in his 'nonage' when he met Beatrice, a very small thing then, could easily subside in a breast, set in tumult, later on, by the polemics of theology and philosophy. One other thing to be taken into consideration is that Dante prized communion with God above everything else, and that in him the thing of the first importance, that is to be noticed, is a mystical apprehension of the reality of divine presence. And Beatrice meant to Dante the concretion of all that was noble and good in life, and even a mirror in which the Divine was to be reflected.

It is only when he is in a retrospective mood that we find our poet considering Beatrice something of a human and speaking about her with a genuine sense of inebriation, in the Italian significance of the term.

"Presi tanta dolcezza che come inebriato mi partio de le genti,"* says our poet in *Vita Nuova*. Then again, in the same book, he threatens to rarefy his mistress, by calling her the glorious woman of his mind (La gloriosa donna della mia mente). It thus becomes clear that Dante's loving of Beatrice is, in the eyes of the ordinary man, a kind of trying to catch the 'Blue Bird,' with the anachronic difficulty eliminated, but not the failure inherent in the chase.

Dante was, of course, mystically above the plane of the two-legged beings of the muddy earth to be able to contact Beatrice who, to Dante, only gave a visual and emotional form to the Divine. But, for one who would comprehend and realise love entire, Beatrice is but a shimmer of light in the horizon which recedes as fast as one would try to reach it.

Petrarch, who comes a good second in the metaphysical chase, early in his poetical career, felt a division of mind and seemed to feel that his Laura was not a mere philosophical category. His

"Chiare, fresche e dolci acque,
ove le bella membra
pose colei che sola a me par donna;
gentil ramo, ove piacque

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* I came into such sweetness that I parted from thence as one inebriated.

—Translation by Rossetti.

(con sospir mi remembra)
a lei di fare al bel fianco collona
erba e fior che las gonna
leggidra ricoverse
col' angelico seno;
aere sacro sereno
ove Amor co' begli occhi il cor m' aperse;
date udienza insieme
a le dolenti mie parole estreme " *

is an unmistakable departure from Dante.

But in the end he becomes almost as full of spiritual fervour as Dante, when Laura is no longer in the land of the living. Petrarch's Laura is not altogether bereft of the touch of the flesh; and the loud sensuality of Boccaccio's poetical output found in Petrarch's departure from Dante a shifting of the "mystical" scene which deprived the poet (Boccaccio) of no latitude whatsoever.

Now, poets of the English Renaissance take up this Petrarchan attitude to love with an enthusiasm which cannot but lead one to the conclusion that they were emotionally starved before. And the fact that a Renaissance poet like Watson, in a good many of his poems, translates lines from Petrarch is sufficient evidence that the Elizabethans were badly in need of good material for poetic treatment. And Petrarch seemed such an enormously rich ' dish ' that they swallowed it all, casting all discrimination to the winds. Wyatt, Surrey, Sidney, Watson and quite a good many of the Elizabethan sonneteers move within the narrow groove of Petrarchan idealism. Sidney's

"I do not envy Aristotle's wit,
Nor do aspire to Caesar's bleeding fame;

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* " Clear, cool streams that softly flow
Where hath no peer on earth below;
Gracious tree she deigned to bless
Leaning her sweet body down
(I must sigh remembering);
Yet beneath her dainty gown,
Flowers and grasses covering
Her angelic bosom over;
Bless'd and unclouded skies
Where love opened my heart's door
With the wonder of her eyes;
Hearken to the words I sing
Of my bitter sorrowing."
—Translation by Lorna de' Lucchi.

Nor ought do care though some above me sit;
Nor hope nor wish another course to frame,
But that which once may win thy cruel heart;
Thou art my wit, and thou my virtue art"

betrays an enthusiasm characteristic of the Troubadours. Watson feels as if he is ship-wrecked in life's sea without his beloved's love and says:

"In clouds she shines and so obscurely shineth
That like a mastless ship at seas I wander,
For want of her to guide my heart that pineth."

Greene will describe the features of his beloved with characteristic gusto and in an obviously conventional way, as in

"Her tresses gold, her eyes like glassy streams,
Her teeth are pearl, the breasts are ivory
of fair Samela."

One other thing to be noticed in connection with the Elizabethan lyrists is that a certain dream-motif, which has a parallel in the French poetry of the Renaissance informs a good deal of their poetry.

Watson does not feel that his love is much of a reality to him, and he will, therefore, like his dreams to continue for long because he meets his beloved only in dreams; and when his sleep breaks off, he exclaims in utter agony, "Such mocks of dreams turn to deadly pain." But then, a reaction soon sets in, and the idealising attitude, of which even Shakespeare is not altogether innocent, is in the process of wearing off in Michael Drayton. His celebrated sonnet opening,

"Since there's no help, come let us kiss and part;" suggests a novel approach. And there is a little of wit in it too. The lover's signifying his alienation from his beloved with a last kiss, while a stealthy attempt is made to get hold of her heart again, is a device altogether unknown to the Elizabethan mind. Drayton's

"Love from mine eyes a tear shall never wring,
Nor in Ah me's my whining sonnets dress'd.
A libertine, fantastically I sing;
My verse is the true image of my mind,
Ever in motion, still desiring change,
And as thus to variety inclined,
So in all humours sportively I range;
My muse is rightly of the English strain
That cannot long one fashion entertain."

seems to betray a consciousness on his part of the fact that the Petrarchan manner of idealising the mistress was already in the process of palling. The Petrarchan fog was a better thing than the dark clouds of Ovid's sky, but sunshine, a still more glorious thing, was yet to come. And the Apollo of that sunny morning was our poet, John Donne, to give an otherwise bold statement the mythological touch of the Petrarch-derived sonnet-literature of the Elizabethan times. From the stigma of being considered a lesion of the soul to be raised to the status of the only experience that counts in life was, for love, a vast change; but a greater and more remarkable change was to come, and in that change the goddess of love was to reside neither in heaven nor in hell but in the heart of the ordinary man.

Now, John Donne's love poetry has two very clear aspects. In the first place, it consciously rejects the Elizabethan custom of idealising the mistress ; in the second, it consciously assigns to itself the task of "realising" the mistress. A good deal of it is conscious caricature as a good deal of it, again, is a conscious revolt against caricature. Donne is a clever and conscious craftsman, but the craft never holds him to a mere trickery of words. In fact, there is an unsurpassed robustness in his poetical outlook, which even Robert Browning cannot fully match. John Donne was a desperate seeker of truth, while Browning had his truth well up his sleeve, and was only anxious to keep the truth from dropping off. His poetical experience was a device more or less to ballast an already accepted truth. Our Donne was constitutionally averse to summarising his faith into a categorical "All's right with the world." Now, this attitude of questioning was the passion that gave colour and tenour to all Donne's poetical effort. And this attitude signifiies the revolt of the ordinary man against a theological or philosophical pattern. It will not be amiss here to notice that in the whole range of English literature there is a curious duality of thinking, which is both its weakness and its strength. Christianity with its Judaic basis of unqualified and rigid monotheism was, certainly, in a measure, destructive of real artistic impulse. The literary man thinks in terms of symbols and not of an accepted, rigid article of faith, and the rather robust way in which Christianity was out to stamp out all that was pagan in the literary mind could not but have a deleterious effect on real artistic work. Even the theological accumulation, not of the purely monotheistic brand, which we find in certain of the celebrated works in English literature could not but make them a little too stodgy and destroy the unity of impression which it is the purpose of art to create. The Samson Agonistes of Milton has undoubtedly more of this unity of impression than his Paradise Lost. The point that I want to make is not that English literature must wither in the shade of Christianity, but that an unchangeable system of thought tends to destroy the kind of temperament that the artist need have and even the way he has to react to life and nature. Protestantism, of course, set the individual conscience at liberty to interpret the Scripture in its own way; but then zealots of the old school still walked the earth. And our John Donne was ready to do battle with these people for whom the Bastille of dogmas had not fallen. It is characteristic that, even at nineteen years of age, Donne temporarily suspended his studies, as Izaac Walton tells us, in order to determine whether reformed Christianity was good or the orthodox form of it. All this cannot fail to show that Donne's was a vigorous mind out to find truth and find it whole. The fact that, though born and brought up a Catholic, he turned Protestant is sufficient evidence of his passion for thuth. And this boldness of approach characterises his love poetry also. We shall now see in what respect he departed from the conventional Elizabethan way of love.

We have already pointed out that a certain dream-motif was a characteristic feature of Elizabethan peotry, specially of Watson. Now against this desire for meeting the beloved in dreams Donne's reaction is complete, as is evident in

"My Dream thou brok'st not, but continued'st it;
Thou art so true, that thoughts of thee suffice,
To make dreams truths, and fables his times;
Enter these arms, for since thou thought'st it best
Not to dream all my dream, let's act the rest.[1]"

The dream-motive is not altogether dead in Donne, but Donne's attitude to a dream is certainly a different thing from Watson's "Such mocks of dreams turn to deadly pain." The touch of realism in Donne's love is unmistakable, and there is a definite emphasis on "let's act the rest." And it is but natural that for a man who is an active participant in life's most exalted experience, love, the woman who possesses his heart must be undeviatingly a woman of flesh and bone. Not for Donne the vague insensible cerebral excitement caused by a momentary dream or the vision of an imaginary beloved to be seen through the vistas that unmeaning clouds offer into an unmeaning, mystic beyond. The pleasure that he seeks to derive is the pleasure not of a sentimental crank nor of a pervert curiously engrossed, pig-like, in mere 'muck', but of one who knows what normal existence is and has the bold conviction that he is above it all. Like the most modern of moderns he knew that love was rooted in sex but could also rise to the level where sex would be forgotten. Leishman rightly suspects that no one before Donne used the word 'sex' in its perfectly modern sense.[1] Now, the fact that quite a good deal of Donne's poetry was caricature of Elizabethan love is well borne out by lines like

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[1] The Dream, Songs and Sonnets.

> "I scarce believe my love to be so pure
> As I had thought it was,
> Because it doth endure
> Vicissitude, and season, as the grass ;
> . . . .
> Love's not so pure, and abstract, as they use
> To say, which have no mistress but their Muse."

Besides being an indictment of the sentimental, romantic attitude to the mistress, the lines do not also fail to show that Donne was highly critical of his impulses. The *ars poetica,* for him, is not rooted in absence of thought, but in a tremendous jostle of diverse, and even conflicting experiences. Donne will be a disappointment for those who will turn to him for things happening in that wonderland where the voice of question is never heard. If the dictum of Matthew Arnold that poetry is the criticism of life is true of the poetry of any Englishman it is certainly the most so of Donne's poetry in the whole range of English literature. Leishman, in his essay on Metaphysical Poetry[2] goes a little too far out of his way, when saying that the literature of the Elizabethan period is a literature of conviction, while the literature of the seventeenth century is a literature of disillusion. Leishman is wrong in seeming to suppose that the conviction of people who think little or do not think at all is a conviction of the first importance. It will be no exaggeration to say that the Elizabethans had very much the same attitude to problems as a child yet unborn has to the light of day. On a study of Elizabethan literature it becomes abundantly clear that England's opportunity for colonial expansion and Renaissance enthusiasm gave the Elizabethan mind such a feeling of things going on jolly well that any deep contemplation could be and really was lulled to sleep. Even Elizabethan drama which a sense of conflict was not altogether absent was unmistakably characterised by an enormous faith in all being splendid and "topping." Tragedy would occasionally intervene, but it was without any bearing on Elizabethan life and only provided a grand variety in dramatic entertainment. Even its moral tone saved it from the incubus of a standing gloom and the Elizabethan audience were too sure of it already to be left to ponder and contemplate. Elizabethan poetry, again, was patently unassailed by any need for serious reflection. If this is conviction, then one might suggest that Leishman has no idea that he himself is without a conviction. Now, we are to consider whether the literature of the seventeenth century expressed any deep sense of disillusion. In order to understand the true spirit of seventeenth century literature one has to go to the thought-background of the time on which it was reared. And our Donne was quickly responsive to any new ideas. The seventeenth century was, in fact, marked by a great revolution in contemporary thinking. The Renaissance passion was given time to quieten down and people could begin to ascertain the nature and even the degree of progress that they had made. Bacon came forward with his inductive logic, a remarkable departure from Aristotelian methods; and shattered our illusions which he properly and forcefully called 'idols.' And political troubles began and there was also a little of fighting between systems of worship, a thing which could not but lead the people to think out whether their accepted truths would stand the test of practical application. On top of all these the rational approach of Descartes was soon to be sighted. The Ptolemaic explanation of the workings of the solar system had gone the way of all flesh, and Copernicus with his theory of the earth revolving round the sun was hailed as being a landmark in the realm of astronomy. All this could not but produce a questioning attitude in the seventeenth century mind and give a foretaste of progress being definitely on the up-grade. One other thing to be noted is that James I's blunders certainly released seventeenth century thinking from the bonds which the sense of security which characterised Elizabeth's reign could not but impose.

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[1] **Essay on John Donne, The Metaphysical Poets—J. B. Leishman.**

[2] *Ibid.*

It is only when your house is within easy possibility of being raided that you acquire the consciousness of having a house. And a similar thing happened in the seventeenth century, but things were certainly not of bad augury. And John Donne never spoke in the accents of a Cassandra but of a captain who sighted a harbour and snapped his fingers at the angry waves lashing his ship with a boast which was soon to be quenched. Even our poet's wit could not but signify his conviction that his citadel was unassailable. The lines

> " So, if I dream I have you, I have you,
> For, all joys are but fantastical.
> And so I scape the pain, for pain is true;
> And sleep which locks up sense, doth lock out all.
> And after a such fruition I shall wake,
> And, but the waking, nothing shall repent;
> And shall to love more thankful sonnets make,
> Than if more honour, tears, and pains were spent,"

cannot be the utterance of one who is an easy prey to disappointment and anguish. He knows that love is a very complex experience, just like life, with a variety of phases, some of them unquestionably disappointing ; but he can contemplate his love with an intellectual balance which was altogether unknown in Elizabethan times. Even his cynicism is just a merry pose of which a man of exceptional powers of contemplation is capable. And then, inspite of his moments of cynical indifference, love to him is the most significant of all experiences, a thing which must shatter the conclusion that the spirit of the literature of the seventeenth century is one of disillusion. The man who would occasionally play truant to his own self and make a joke, as in

> " Some tears, that knot of friends, her death must cost,
> Because the chain is broke, though no link lost "[1]

was also capable of

> " But thou canst not die, I know,
> To leave this world behind, is death,
> But when thou from this world wilt go,
> The whole world vapours with they breath."

If this is disillusion, then it must cause disillusion about its own job.

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[1] Elegy on Mistress Boulstred.

Now, as we have already seen, Donne's beloved is an ordinary woman of flesh and bone who shivers and quails and again returns to the arms of her lover, transported by a soft squeeze or a significant look of the eye. She is not an Amoret to be won only with the help of a shield with a picture of Cupid inscribed in it, nor is she to be eternally leaning on the bars of heaven calling a lover on the terrestrial globe in a perfect metaphysical way. She is every inch a woman, and in her love aversion and reciprocation are beautifully blended. The tug-of-war between flesh and soul which is as old as time itself, persists, and in it alone consists the charm and freshness of love. The soul and the body must, of course, co-operate in order to give the touch of completeness to a love-experience, but then a certain sense of duality cannot be altogether banished. And this note of duality is the most fundamental of all notes, and the problem of how to reconcile flesh with soul is the most crucial of life's problems. It is this consciousness of the most vital problem of life which informs Donne's poetry. And it is, therefore, that his love consists of such a great variety of moods. The Elizabethans had a single passion—the passion, let us say, of idealising the mistress. But to Donne love was the vital experience of a man who was out to understand life and understand it correctly. Dante's love for Beatrice was a theological and metaphysical article of faith transformed by a poetical colouring and verve ; but Donne's love, though similar to Dante's in seriousness, is infinitely more concrete in fact and various in experience. This can in no way fail to prove that there are more mansions in Donne's mind than could be found in Dante's. This is evidence also of the progress that the seventeenth century has made, since the age of Dante, in its attitude to life and its independence of thinking. As we have already noted, Donne's love must not be viewed as an experience with little or no bearing on other aspects of life. His love is, indeed, a kind of mirror in which the totality of his personality is reflected. And the very fact that the moods of which he makes up a love—experience are various suggests that his attitude to life was, therefore, as completely various. His wit signifies a rare keenness of intellect and novelty of approach. But underlying all these a great striving in him to unify his experiences is unmistakable. The lines

" Love's mysteries in souls do grow,
But yet the body is his book,"

clearly suggest that he was at times very near hitting upon a definite conclusion. But, born in a period of great philosophical unrest, ready to revolt but yet without courage to declare its convictions as unchallengeable, Donne could only loosen the chains of conventional thinking, but failed, inspite of his best efforts, to substitute for it a system as definite and as free from doubt. But the very fact that Donne experienced honest doubts cannot also fail to show that all his feelings proceeded from the bed-rock of sincerity. And what counts in really high poetry is not a well-knit thesis but keenly felt experiences made as keenly articulate. And it is for this alone that Donne's poetry has a sure claim on our aesthetic appreciation.

It will be worth our while, before we conclude, to consider whether the designation 'metaphysical' adequately represents the nature of the poetry of John Donne. There are many who would understand by 'metaphysical' a thing of really metaphysical significance. But then metaphysical poetry can be understood without any ingenuity of mind to convey the sense of a kind of poetry in which a clear approach to the roots of things is discernible. Metaphysical poetry is not a poetry of metaphysics but a poetry in which a consciousness of the incompatibility of matter and spirit and an earnest attempt to remove that incompatability are displayed. And in Donne's poetry the conflict between matter and spirit takes the form of the conflict between flesh and soul, and this conflict engages our poet's mind in the very same way as the problem of the Many and the One does the metaphysician's. As the metaphysician will pierce the world of appearance and go to the noumenal aspect of things, so will John Donne go to the bed-rock from which his love or religion proceeds. What we are to look for in Donne's poetry is not metaphysical content, but the metaphysical manner; and poetry in order to be poetry has to be definitely other than a mere tract on metaphysics. The very fact that Donne's poetry is analytical almost in a metaphysical fashion justifies our opposition to calling the designation "metaphysical" a misnomer.

One other point will not be beside our scope here. The poetry of modern England has something of the metaphysical attitude of the seventeenth century. The same keenness of sensibility is there and the same seventeenth century manner of focussing various experiences, war, philosophy, economics, etc., into a poetical orb. The felt thought of the seventeenth century is clearly noticeable in poets like Auden, Spender, Day Lewis and many others. These moderns also try to achieve a unity of thought and sensibility in the manner of the seventeenth century poets. All this suggests scope for good work in this line.

The Vaishnava poetry of India also suggests a striking similarity to seventeenth century poetry. The same metaphysical note is there and the same recognition of flesh and soul in love. But the difference between them is that while the seventeenth century poets only experienced honest doubts, the Vaishnavas evolved a philosophy of their own and related their experiences to that philosophical pattern.

BLANK VERSE IN ORIYA LITERATURE : RADHANATH RAY

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Calcutta University.

The novelty of Radhanath's *Mahāyātrā* was mainly due not so much to its historicity or its great and noteworthy attempt to relate the national epic of the Hindus, the *Mahābhārata*, to the land of Orissa, but to the new measure of blank verse which, like heady wine, appealed very strongly to the appreciative readers of poetry in Orissa. Sanskrit verse is quantitative. It does not depend for its measure upon the concurrence, or otherwise, of the final syllables at rhythmic and regular intervals ; the cæsura or *Yati* is regulated by definite rules but does not follow the sense, as in blank verse. So far as lyrics go, Sanskrit measure is an excellent medium. But in epics, which are works of some length, it is bound to pall upon the reader after a time. Hence the ancient law-makers in Sanskrit poetry, who were definite in their instructions on these matters, laid down that the different *Sargas* of an epic poem were to be written in different metres, and even in the same *Sarga* or canto or book, the final verses were to be written in a measure different from the body of the *Sarga*. When Madhusudan Dutt introduced blank verse to the Bengali language, he did it at first on the spur of the moment, half in jest and half in earnest, conscious of the power that burned in him. He tried the measure first in a dramatic work, then in a long poem, and at last in the immortal work, the *Meghnādbadh*. Even that was, to quote his own word, an ' epicling,' not a finished, complete epic. But he succeeded all the same in grafting his blank verse on Bengali language. He declared in answer to enquiries that he had caught the rhythm of the verse from Milton. No doubt he was indebted for the dignity and spiritual content of the poem to Homer but it is very probable that, for the mechanism of his verse, he turned to Milton as to a master.

When Radhanath wrote his *Mahāyātrā* he was probably thinking of Madhusudan's *Meghnādbadh* a poem written about 40 years before Radhanath thought of his blank verse venture. The similarity between the two is striking. Like Madhusudan, Radhanath's first exercises in verse were in a language which enjoyed more prestige than his own mother-tongue. As in Madhusudan's case, it was to an educationist to whom Radhanath looked for approbation and who advised him to a better course. As with Madhusudan so with Radhanath, the projected epic was not completed. The *Meghnādbadh* was only an experiment ; an "epicling." In the introduction to the epic *Mahāyātrā*, contributed by Madhusudan Rao, Radhanath's friend and literary adviser, there is a gentle hint that so far as the medium of blank verse was concerned, the cue was taken from Madhusudan Dutt of Bengal.

The new measure owed its success not only to its freedom from rhyme, but also to the dignity of diction which resounds in close correspondence to the content of the poem. But we cannot say that Radhanath's work sustains always, as in the case of Madhusudan, the dignity of the epic, so far as diction goes. Something is no doubt due to the difference in the genius of the two languages. Both of course are deeply indebted to

Sanskritic diction, or *tatsama* words, for their vocabulary. But take the first few lines of the second *Sarga* of *Mahāyātrā.* The style is not so dignified, the syntax is not so closely knit, the harmoney is not such as in the case of Madhusudan. Comparisons of particular lines are bound to be more or less misleading, and for the general estimate, the best thing is to depend upon an impressionist study, rather than a detailed examination of the two texts side by side ; the latter has not been undertaken as yet, but it must ultimately decide the question at issue.

It may be convenient, however, to refer to certain passages in *Meghnādbadh* for examples of the sonorous and epic diction of Madhusudan. Let us look up the third Canto of the Bengali poem, where Pramila's companion reaches the western gate of Lanka :

Katakshaṇe uttarilā paścima-duāre
Vidhumukhī ekebāre śata śaṅkhadhārī
Dhvanilā, taṅkāri roshe śata bhīma dhanu,
Strī-vṛnda ! kānpila Laṅkā ātaṅke ; kānpila
Mātaṅge nishādī ; rathe rathī ; turaṅgame
Sādīvara ; siṃhāsane rājā ; avarodhe, etc.

The sound is not only an echo to the sense but is also helpful in elevating the temper of the audience, lifting it up to a higher level of life and the imagination. Or take a single line in the same Canto where Hanuman is sternly greeted by Pramila's companion. *Kodaṇḍa ṭaṅkāri roshe kahilā huṅkāre* It is a perfect line, resonant with epic energy and diction. Madhusudan's achievement is all the more wonderful when we remember and realise that Sanskrit, and for that matter Bengali, was a new language to him. The arrangement of words with a view to eliciting a deep musicality from them was thus a feat which only can be explained by attributing it to the poet's genius ; we have to understand in a new sense that poets are born, and not made. It is not possible to find out from Radhanath's poem that rise and fall of words which one learns to associate with Madhusudan. Radhanath knew his Sanskrit and his Oriya all right, he had not the handicap under which Madhusudan might be imagined to labour ; but at the same time he could not handle the bow of U ysses to the same effect. In vain may we look into his verses for the harmony which comes from a march of words answering to some deep-seated tune which must come from the poet'sheart. Madhusudan, it must be admitted, was a master at his craft of weaving his words into a *Murchchhanā,* the *Āroha* and *Abaroha* of words is so natural in his lines.

In the introduction to the *Mahāyātrā* contributed by the poet's friend Madhusudan Rao already referred to, and which should be read by all students of the Oriya epic, there are two statements which require some observation ; one is his note that all the poems written in Sanskrit have been composed in various *Amritākshar* chhandas ; this in our opinion is out of place so far as Sanskrit goes, because in Sanskrit verse there is no question of rhyme and its absence, the verse, (as we have said) being quantitative in nature. The other remark of Madhusudan Rao which may be taken exception to is regarding the unpoetic utterances that are possible in rhyme. This is later on corrected by the distinguished writer who affirms that poetry does not depend for its excellence either on rhyme or on blank verse. Certainly it is the " divine " right of poetasters to exhibit their " gifts " both in rhyme and blank verse.

Radhanath was the pioneer in introducing blank verse to Oriya language and it is therefore necessary to study the innovation and its nature in comparison to the great Bengali pioneer, Madhusudan, who was probably the model for Radhanath. Madhusudan Dutt's fame in this respect was fairly noised abroad ; Bhudeb Mukherji, who acted as a mentor to Radhanath at a critical period of his life, was an intimate friend of the Bengali poet, having been associated with him since their school days ; Madhusudan Rao in his introduction stresses the closeness of the two languages, Bengali and Oriya. These are the external factors, while the internal resemblances between the Bengali and the Oriya epic will go further to establish the case for Dutt's influence on the Oriya poet. It is to be hoped that the detailed biography of Radhanath which, it is understood, is in the press, will contain positive indications for confirming this view.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Donation To Visva-Bharati

His Excellency Tai Chi-Tao, President of the Examination Yuan and member of the State Council of the National Government of China, who headed the Chinese Goodwill Mission to India last year, has, it is understood, donated a sum of Rs. 10,000 to the Visva-Bharati, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's Institution at Santiniketan.

The donation is to be utilised for rural uplift work organised by the Visva-Bharati, for building dormitories as well as for the improvement of the *Cheena Bhawan.*

Physical Welfare of Students

It is understood that the Government of the Central Provinces have decided to abolish the scheme sponsored by the Congress Ministry to organise the physical welfare of the students.

Madras Technical Terms Committee

The Government of Madras have constituted special committees for Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam, Kannada and Urdu languages to implement the recommendations of the Technical Terms Committee, which the Government had already accepted. The Government desire that the committees should begin work as soon as possible so that final lists of technical terms in the languages may be ready before the beginning of the next school year.

Travancore University

The University of Travancore has recognized the degrees awarded by the University of Dacca, as equivalent to those of the Travancore University.

Indian Forest College

Of the sixteen students who have passed out of the Indian Forest College after completing their two years' course, two obtained the Honours Diploma and the remaining fourteen the Pass Diploma, according to the Progress Report of the Indian Forest College, Dehra Dun, for the year 1939-40. Four of the students were from the United Provinces, two each from Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Hyderabad (Deccan) and Kashmir and one each from Orissa and Kotah.

Only students with high educational qualifications and excellent health and moral character, who are assured gazetted appointments on their successfully completing the course, are admitted to the College and their training expenses are mostly borne by the Provincial Governments or the States concerned.

The course of studies, which extends over two years, comprises both theoretical and practical training. Tours, which occupy nearly one half of the available time, are arranged in selected areas in various parts of India. During these tours, the students not only study the forests and their silviculture and management but are also required to do cleanings and thinnings, nursery and plantation work with their own hands.

Exploitation Engineering and Utilisation are also studied on tour, including extraction by elephants, gravity and mechanical tramways, ropeways and skidders, floating and rafting. Large commercial sawmills, railway carriage and wagon workshops and paper, resin and match factories are also visited and studied.

The Indian Forest College was opened in May, 1938, for the training of students in the Superior Forest Services of the various Provinces and States of India, and is housed in the Forest Research Institute building at Dehra Dun. The museums, laboratories, workshops, libraries, etc., of the Forest Research Institute form an important part of the College and are available for consultation and use by the students.

This College is quite distinct from the old Imperial Forest College at Dehra Dun, which continues under its new name of "Indian Forest Ranger College" to train ranger students. The Indian Forest College takes the place of the Forest Schools at Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh so far as the training of officers for the Indian superior services is concerned.

The first course ended in March, 1940, and for the second course (1940-42) which began in April, 1940, the number of students has increased to twenty.

Miscellany

AMERICA AND EAST ASIA

In trade alone the value of the imports and exports between the United States and the region including China, Indo-China, the Philippine Islands, the Netherlands East Indies and Malaya generally exceeds in the aggregate the trade between these countries and either Japan or Great Britain, says D. H. Cole.

Thus, in 1937 which was a comparatively normal year (in an area where little has been normal since 1931), the United States' imports from this region were valued at £120,000,000 and her exports to it £40,000,000. During the same year the Japanese imports were £33,000,000 and exports £41,000,000, while the comparable British figures were £30,000,000 and £24,000,000. Thus American trade was about twice the value of Japanese trade and three times that of British trade.

A great deal of the immense total of American imports from this area (which, in fact, amount to one-fifth of the value of all the imports of the United States) is made up of tin and rubber from the Netherlands East Indies and Malaya, but quite considerable parts of it are imports of hemp, copra and vegetable oils from Philippine Islands and tea, raw silk, oil seeds, metal and minerals (particularly antimony) from China.

Turning to the Netherlands East Indies itself, an area in which Japan is displaying an ominous degree of interest, it is found that Japanese imports from those islands only amount to £12,000,000 while the imports of the United States are about double that amount.

A similar situation exists as regards investments. The United States' investments in the Netherlands East Indies are estimated at £25,000,000; those of Japan at less than half that amount.

Japan wants the East Indies because of their resources of tin, rubber and petroleum. At present she can purchase these in an open market but she does not want an open market.

The only territorial interests which the United States possess in East Asia are the Philippine Islands and the island of Guam, both of which were obtained from Spain in 1899 after the Spanish-American War. The population of the Philippines, 14,000,000, about double that of all the British territories in East Asia, *viz.*, Hon Kong, British Borneo and Sarawak and British Malaya; the area is only slightly less.

At present the Philippines enjoy "Dominion Status" and they are called "The Commonwealth of the Philippines" but American garrisons still occupy eight centres of military importance and there is an American naval base at Cavite. The Tydings McDuffle Act passed by Congress in 1934 provides for the withdrawal of the American garrison and the complete independence of these islands by 1946.

Now, the whole matter of independence has become less certain. The Filipinos, at one time enthusiastic supporters of it, now realize the perils which surround them and their helplessness to meet those dangers if the sheltering arm of the United States were to be withdrawn.

The islands are important producers of hemp, copra, cocoanut and sugar. There are considerable resources of iron ore, gold, manganese, chromite, coal and asbestos. Petroleum has been found in several localities. Many of the islands are thinly populated and less than one-quarter of the area suitable for cultivation is at present cultivated.

Add to these tempting incentives to a Great Power seeking to expand the facts that the most northerly island is only 65 miles from Formosa and that there are already many Japanese farm colonies in the islands, and the present lack of enthusiasm for independence on the part of the Filpinos is understandable.

It is clear that Japan might well feel it undesirable to pursue a drastic southwards policy leaving a great American possession with naval and air bases almost across her lines of communication.

The other American possession close to Eastern Asia is the small island of Guam 1,500 miles east of Manila and at the southern extremity of the Mariana Islands which were mandated to Japan at the end of the last war. Guam is an American naval station and potential naval and air base on the line of communication from the United States to the Philippines. It is also an air port on the Trans-Pacific air route operated by Pan-American Airways.

It lies in the centre of the Japanese archipelagoes and within 1,500 miles of the main Japanese islands. That the United States has no intention of relinquishing this possession is evident from the decision made in 1939 to strengthen its defences and also to establish a supporting air base at Wake Island 1,500 miles to the northeast.

But American interests in the Far East are far from being merely commercial and territorial. Particularly with China there are strong philanthropic, social and cultural bonds. American mission societies have for many years past been in the forefront of the medical and educational advancement of China.

Many of the hospitals, schools, colleges and universities in China owe their existence to the generosity of subscribers throughout the length and breadth of the United States. Every year there is a large movement of students from Chinese colleges to American universities. On completing their education there they return to their own country imbued with American ways of thought and values.

As Mr. Stimson has pointed out, "the interest which this missionary and philanthropic activity has evoked throughout the United States has the effect that American opinion follows with a peculiar interest and sympathy the attempt of the Chinese people to achieve national unity and economic progress." It has also, it might be added, increased that distrust of Japanese policy which has been evident in the United States since the violent occupation of Manchukuo in 1931.

The chief immediate strategic interest of the United States is, of course, the defence of the Commonwealth of the Philippines until such time as it receives independence. A Japanese southward thrust to the Netherlands East Indies past the Philippines could not leave the United States unaffected.

It would establish round that American possession a ring of Japanese controlled territory and Japanese naval bases and make it practically incapable of being defended. If Japan were to pursue the same policy with regard to French territory in the Pacific the danger would strike nearer home to the United States itself.

The French-owned Marquesas Group in the South Seas might be used as a naval base from which to harass Panama Canal traffic; the little French possession, Clipperton Island, lies less than 1000 miles from that Canal.

Finally, there is the important military obligation on the United States of defending the lives and property of her own citizens in the Far East. In the International Settlement of Shanghai (which is International and not British) there are many American citizens and investments to the tune of over £30,000,000; there are also American Marines as part of the defence of the Settlement and American members on its governing Municipal Council.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

HUMAN ECOLOGY AS A BRANCH OF SOCIOLOGY

Evidences that many sociologists accept human ecology as a division of sociological theory may be found in the following facts: (1) the American Sociological Society has instituted a Division of Human Ecology; (2) standard treatises on fields of sociology list human ecology as an important branch of sociological theory; (3) several sociological texts contain chapters or divisions on human ecology, (4) digests of current sociological literature and lists of research projects usually include human ecology as a major heading; (5) reputable sociologists offer courses under the title of human ecology; and (6) a few outstanding sociologists, notably McKenzie and Park, explicitly deny the identity of human ecology with other traditional academic subjects, and by implication at least, designate it as a branch of sociology.

Sociologists typically emphasize the study of human interrelations as the center of interest in their ecological studies. Park writes, for example, that "it is not man but the community, not man's relations to the earth he inhabits, but his relation to other men, that concerns . . . (sociological students of human ecology) most." McKenzie emphasizes this:

"Human ecology differs from demography and human geography in that its main object of attention is neither the population aggregate nor the physical-cultural habitat, but rather the relations of men."

This notion that human ecology centers in the study of human interrelations appears in many guises throughout sociological literature. Descriptions of human ecology as the study of community, of natural areas, or of the ecological concept of position, imply relationship either within a sustenance chain or within a complex web of spatially distributed men or institutions. Many authors emphasize human interrelations when they place the concepts of *competition*, *ecological interaction*, or *symbiosis* at the heart of ecological study. Other authors declare respectively that human ecology studies (1) patterns of spatial and temporal relations brought about through influences of the environment, (2) interrelated human beings and institutions, (3) effects of environment upon human groupings, and (4) the "communal organism." If, therefore, sociology is defined as the study of forms and processes of human interrelations, if human ecology centers in the study of human interrelations, some logical ground exists for regarding the latter as falling within the broader field of the former.

The present author cannot accept the point of view that human ecology falls exclusively within the field of sociology. This narrow limitation of the field seems unwarranted in the light both of traditional definitions of ecology and of standard usage in other disciplines. An unprejudiced observer would probably conclude that human geography which unquestionably studies problems of man's relation to environment has greater justification for exclusive use of the term human ecology than does sociology. Unless, therefore, sociologists include (1) all of human geography, (2) a part of biology and (3) a part of economics within the ecological branch of their own discipline, they have no sound basis for declaring that human ecology belongs wholly to sociology as a subdivision of the latter.—J. A. Quinn in the *American Sociological Review*.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

CULTURE AS WORLD-CONQUEST

Culture and civilization are identical or synonymous terms. The distinction is generally made in Germany where *Kultur* is taken to be more profound, more creative and more substantial than civilization. In France, as a rule, scientists and *les hommes des lettres* fight shy of the word "culture." To them the sweetest word is *la civilisation française*. Italians are like the French in this respect. Italy does not care for *la coltura* so much as for *la civilizzazione*. In English thought the custom continues to be more or less French although the German term and ideology were introduced by Matthew Arnold among others. American intellectuals have not gone in definitely for one way or the other. They use culture and civilization indifferently. Those contemporary Eur-American sociologists or philosophers who want to exhibit their uptodateness in German vocabulary, especially the ideologies propagated by Spengler, have to refer to the distinctions observed in Germany by way of preliminary observations. But they virtually ignore them as they proceed unless they happen to be exponents of the Spenglerian or some allied thesis.

Culture or civilization is really nothing but Sanskrit or virtually All-Indian *kṛshṭi*, *saṃskṛti* or *sabhyatā*. It is a synonym for the creations of man, whatever they are, good, bad or indifferent. We do not have to attach any moral significance to the word. Culture or civilization is to be treated as entirely un-moral, carrying no appraisal of values, high or low. One may take it as a term describing the results of human creativity.

Any creation of man being culture, the most important item in it is the force behind culture, the culturemaking agency, the factor that produces or manufactures culture. The analysis of culture or civilization is nothing but the analysis of man's creative urges, energies or forces. It is the will that creates, it is the intelligence that creates, and perhaps likewise it is the emotion that creates. The first thing that counts in the human personality, in the individual or group *psyche* is the desire or ambition to create. And the second thing certainly is the power to create. In culture or world-culture we are interested in this desire or ambition of man and in this power of man to create.

It is the nature of human creativity to be endowed with interhuman impacts, good or bad. Social influence is to be postulated of creation as such. Every creation exerts automatically an influence upon the neighbourhood. The influence may be beneficial or harmful. The creation is perhaps only the production of a food plant, a cave-dwelling, an earthen pot, a song or a story. But the creator influences the neighbour as a matter of course. His work evokes the sympathy or antipathy of the men and women at hand or far-off. It thus dominates the village, the country and the world, be the manner or effect of domination evil or good. Creation is essentially domination. To create is to conquer, to dominate. No domination, no creativity.

The desire and the power to dominate is then the fundamental feature in every creative activity, in every expression of culture. In every culture we encounter the desire to dominate and the power to dominate. The quality, quantity and variety of men and women who have the desire and the power to dominate set the limits of the culture-making force in a particular region or race. In order to be able to make a culture or possess an epoch in world-culture the region or race must have a large number of varied men and women effectively endowed with this desire and power to dominate.

The term "world" in world-culture is not to be taken too literally so as to encompass all the four quarters of the universe and all the two billions of human beings. The smallest environment of an individual is his world. As soon as he has created something his culture has influenced the neighbour. It may then be said already to have conquered the world and made or started an epoch. It is clear that the words, conquest and domination, are not being used in any terroristic, terrifying or tyrannical sense. There is nothing sinister in these words, nothing more sinister at any rate than in the words, influence or conversion.

Once in a while, or very often, it may so happen that while your creation or culture is influencing, converting, conquering or dominating your neighbour, his creation or culture is likewise at the same time influencing, converting, conquering and dominating you. This sort of mutual influence, mutual conversion, reciprocal conquest or reciprocal domination is a frequent, nay, an invariable phenomenon in inter-human contacts. Hardly any religious conversion of a large group in the world's history has been one-sided. It has as a rule led to a give-and-take between two systems of cult. "Acculturation" or the acceptance and assimilation of one culture by a region or race of another culture furnishes innumerable instances of this mutuality in domination or reciprocity in conquest. But that the essential item in culture is influence, conversion, conquest or domination is however never to be lost sight of.

The position is, then, very simple. Whenever this man over here or that man over there be in a position to influence another man, his neighbour, we have to say that the other man has been converted or conquered by this man. Whenever we find that one group of human beings has made an invention or a discovery and when that invention or that discovery has been accepted by another group as an invention or discovery that is likely to be useful we should say that the first group has made an epoch in world-culture.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Jaina Iconography (Vol. II of **Indian Images**).—By Brindaban Chandra Bhattacharyya, M.A., F.R.G.S. (Edin.), F.A.R.U. (Vizianagram), Professor, Benares Hindu University, etc., etc. Pp. 3 + *a*, *b* + 4 + 192 + x; with 26 Plates. Printed in Lahore, and published by Motilal Banarsidas, Sanskrit Booksellers, Said Mitha Street, Lahore. 1939. Price Rs. 10.

While Indian iconography in its Brahmanical and Buddhistic forms has received its share of attention from scholars both Indian and European, and we are fortunate possessors of a number of important works on the subject like Gopinatha Rao's *Hindu Iconography*, H. Krishna Sastri's *South Indian Imges of Gods and Goddesses*, Nalini Kanta Bhattasali's *Sculpture in East Bengal*, and Foucher, Getty, and Binaytosh Bhattacharyya's standard works, among others, Jaina iconography, representing the third great expression of the Hindu or Ancient and Medieval Indian spirit, in its imagining in terms of the human figure the seen and the unseen, and in its creative artistic skill, has not received adequate notice. The reason is not far to seek. Brahmanical and Buddhistic iconography deals with gods and goddesses who are very living figures;—they are endowed with the warmth of personality, and they actively take part in man's life, in his joys and sorrows, his hopes and fears. Siva and Umā, Vishṇu and Srī, Kumāra and Vaḷḷī, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya and the rest, and even the older gods like Indra and Varuṇa, Ushas and Sachī, are not mere lifeless abstractions: with their myths and legends, their romance and their philosophy, they present facets as varied and as full of light and colour as life itself. The same may be said of the Buddhist deities—of the Mahāyāna in past days and the present. The Buddha is there—his story with its palpitating life; and the Avalokiteśvaras and Tārās, the Mañjuśrīs and the Maitreyas of later times, who still rule the hearts of the people of Tibet and Mongolia, of China, Korea, Japan and Annam, whether as Chen-re-shi or Dol-ma, as Kuan-yin or Pu-tai, as Kwannon or Miroku.

But the Jaina pantheon lacks the human side of godhead, which alone can make godhead a living thing and a power among men. The twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras dominate the field; and the sameness of their seated or standing position makes of them the embodiment of an idea rather than the representation of a person. Only Pārśva and Mahāvīra, with their great stories, seem to present a point of contact with the ordinary life of men. The gods and goddesses are subordinate to the Jinas. There was no active opposition to the gods as such, but there has been an attitude of neglect from the leaders of Jaina thought, who pinned their faith on the life of contemplation and austerity rather than on faith in some divinity. Yet the gods were too much in evidence—among the people, whether Brahmanical, Buddhist or Jaina—in both their philosophical outlook and their social life. The teaching of the Jaina *ācāryas* or masters and their example did not help to establish the cult of any divinity, male or female. Reduced to the position of *Yakṣas* and *Yakṣiṇīs* or subordinate angels, or of mere *Dikpālas* or guardians of the various quarters or directions, or of *Śruta-devīs* and *Vidyā-devīs*, *i.e.*, spirits of learning and wisdom, who had no help to offer in making man attain to salvation, a Gomukha-yakṣa or an Ambikā-yakṣiṇī, an Indra or a Brahmā, a Sūrya or a Gaurī could not evoke the passionate homage of a devotee in the way that Siva, Durgā and Vishṇu, and Avalokiteśvara and Tārā were able to do among Brahmanists and Buddhists. Very rarely does a Jaina layman feel attracted by the saving grace and the helping or comforting personality of the gods and goddesses who surround the central being, the Jina or Tīrthaṅkara; his devotion goes out to some Tīrthaṅkara rather than to a *Yakṣa* or *Yakṣiṇī*, and even then he appears to be less moved by a Tīrthaṅkara than is a Hindu by the figure of Śiva or Viṣṇu, or is a Buddhist by the figure of Avalokiteśvara or even by that of Sākya-muni himself.

Jainism, revelling in images of gods and goddesses almost as much as Brahmanism, presents a paradox: in the midst of gods, it is a religion without gods. One feels tempted to compare Jainism with Islam in this matter. The angels (*mal'aks*, or *firishtas*) are there in Islam, with their names, attributes and unctions, which would practically give them the status of gods in some other religion: thus there are the four Archangels, called *Karubīyūn* (or cherubim), whose names and functions are given—*Jabrā'īl* who brings revelations, '*Azrā'īl*' who is the angel of death, *Isrāfīl* who will sound the trumpet on the last day, and *Mīkā'īl*: there are the Recording Angels, and Examining Angels, and Chief Angel in charge of Hell. There are the *jinns* or giants and devils in Islam, also with other names, attributes and functions, and there are the saints, the *Shaikhs* or *Pīrs*, in practical life whose intervention is sought for by the faithful, particularly in Turkey, in Iran and in India. The *mal'aks* or angels, *jinns* or spirits good or evil, and *pīrs* or saints, all with their stories and legends, form a true mythology—although a very restricted one—even in monotheistic Islam; but this mythology (except for the saints) does not make a follower of Islam feel the exaltation of faith, although he does not question its existence in so far as it is admitted by the 'Holy Book.' It is almost like that in official Jainism—although some Jains might feel the devotional or spiritual appeal of the recognised gods. There is no Jain temple or chapel where a divinity other than a Jina forms the presiding image or central object of worship. Even in the Roman Catholic Church the various saints are more like real living gods than are the gods in Jaina mythology.

Owing to the above reason, mythology and the stories of the gods, and their attributes and poses with their meanings, are removed from the life of the people. They are found in books; the learned men can tell us a good deal from the old texts on the images and the deities. The scene that we see in a Hindu temple—the worshipper or the pilgrim eagerly following a legend of the gods or heroes in the sculptures or paintings on the walls, and narrating the story to those who are less informed, is not found in a Jaina sanctum. The gods are unnamed for the mass of the worshippers—rarely will a lay worshipper be able to tell you what a temple figure means, although he is alive about the Jina images; they are only decorative.

The Jain sculptors and painters, under the direction of the Jaina *ācāryas* who inspired the building of temples, the painting of pictures and the writing of MSS. illumined with miniatures, took fullest advantage of these gods and goddesses as decorative or iconographical figures. As the images of a faith in a different setting, they are well worth a study. Frequently, they are popular gods—the *Yakṣas* and *Yakṣiṇīs*—of ancient times who could not be excluded. They are also the Common Gods of ancient India, inherited equally by Brahmanist, Buddhist and Jaina. Sometimes they are due to the impact of later Brahmanical Hinduism on the Jains: we have in this way some Tantric deities recognised by Jaina teachers. And they are also creations of later Jainism, sometimes recognised by one only of the two sects (Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras), and ignored by the other.

I think Jaina iconography was neglected mainly because the Jaina gods are not endowed with the vitality of Brahmanical and Buddhist gods; they are not on the forefront in Jain religious life, they belong rather to Jaina art. The latter subject has attracted the notice of specialists in art. We may mention Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, Dr. Norman Brown of Philadelphia University, and Mr. Sarabhai Manilal Nawab, whose sumptuous work in Gujarati, the *Jaina-Citra-Kalpadruma*, forms one of the best introductions to the subject. Jaina iconography is as old as Jaina art; it goes back to the centuries immediately before Christ. It is a subject most lavishly illustrated in medieval and modern sculpture: specially in the magnificent Jaina temples of Gujarat and Rajputana, and in Jaina MSS. from the same parts of India. It is a distinctive thing by itself.

We are now glad to obtain in Prof. Bhattacharyya's *Jaina Iconography* the first comprehensive work on the subject. It is a pioneer work filling a long-felt want, and as a pioneer work there may be mistakes, particularly of omission. Mr. Bhattacharyya has had to draw upon the texts, printed and in MSS, and to make personal investigations into the images, comparing them with the texts. Prof. Bhattacharyya's chapter-headings will indicate the scope of his work : Introduction, pp. 1-35 ; Chapter I—The Tīrthaṅkaras, pp. 36-90 ; Chapter II and Chapter III, the Yakṣas and the Yakṣiṇīs, pp. 91-119 and 120-47 ; Chapter IV, the Dik-pālas, pp. 147-57 ; Chapter V, the Nava-grahas, pp. 157-62 ; Chapter VI, Śruta-devīs and Vidyā-devīs, pp. 163-77 ; Chapter VII, Miscellaneous Jaina Divinities (Naigameśa, Kshetrapāla, Gaṇeśa, Śrī or Lakshmī, the peculiar Śvetāmbara conception of Śānti-devī, as well as the 64 Yoginīs), pp. 178-84; and Chapter VIII, Āsanas and Mudrās, pp. 185-89. There is a short Appendix explaining some Jaina symbols and technical terms, and an Index of Names. Prof. Bhattacharyya has done his work well. He has already proved his capacity by his previous books and papers on the subject of Indian iconography.

Jaina images in their static and essentially decorative quality appear a little lifeless beside Brahmanical and Buddhist images. No great creation comparable to the Mahābalipuram, Ajanta, Ellora and Elephanta masterpieces can be attributed to Jainism. Yet it has given a great figure like the Gomateśvara at Sravana Belgola in Mysore, and it has given a distinctive art of the miniature; and some of the medieval sculptures are beautiful, among which I may mention the Śruta-devī from Pullu in Bikaner (Plate XX in Prof. Bhattacharyya's book), and some small bronze figures I have seen in Nagpur Museum.

Jaina iconography, in order to be a fruitful subject of study both in art history and in the development of Indian religion, should be in comparison with the Brahmanical pantheon and images. Lack of space probably made Professor Bhattacharyya confine himself to what we get from Jaina sources alone. The well-illustrated and useful study of Ambikā-Devī by Mr. Umakant Premchand Shah of the Oriental Institute, Baroda (in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. IX, Part 2, September, 1940) would have been more valuable if the Brahmanical affinities and connexions of such a popular deity as the Mother with the Child had been indicated. It may be hoped that in a subsequent edition or work Prof. Bhattacharyya will give some attention to this important aspect of the question.

On the whole, Prof. Bhattacharyya can be congratulated on giving us this very useful work. I hope the Jain community in India which possesses both the culture necessary for appreciating the value of studies of this sort and the means to foster these studies will now help the preparation and publication of a properly documented work on the subject, comprehensive as well as comparative, which in both its text and its plates may be an authoritative work and corpus of Jaina iconographic art of importance for some time to come.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

Pali-Jatakavalih.—By Pandit Batuknath Sharma, M.A., Sāhityopādhyāya, Head of the Sanskrit Department, Benares Hindu University, Benares: forming No. 139 in the *Maṇimālā* series (Sāhitya, Section 6). Published by Master Khelarilal and Sons, Sanskrit Book Depot, Kachauri Gali, Benares City. 1940. Pp. 10+5+171. Price Re. 1.

This is a noteworthy book in some ways. A students' selection from the Pali *jātakas*, it is prescribed for the *Sāhitya-śāstrī* examination of the Government Sanskrit College, Benares, thus indicating the inclusion of Pali in the orthodox curriculum for Sanskrit. As it is meant primarily for those who confine themselves to Sanskrit and the Vernacular only and do not ordinarily take up English, the Introductions are in Sanskrit, and the Pali texts, printed in the Devanagari character, have their Sanskrit *chāyā* (Sanskrit translations rather than corresponding forms or equivalents have been given in some cases) on the page opposite. In the second Introduction Pandit Batuknathji his discussed the origin of Pali and that of the word *Pali*. He is content to call it 'Buddhist Magadhi,' and the word *Pali* he does not etymologise—the word meant *texts*, and then the language came to take up this epithet. He has given a sketch of the contents of the *Piṭakas* and the nature of the *Jātakas*. Sanskrit analysis of the stories selected occur, and after the texts (with the Sanskrit *chāyā*) are given selections from the Pali commentary *Jātakattha-vaṇṇanā*, a Hindi translation of the texts, a short Pali grammar and a vocabulary. The book will form a very helpful introduction to Pali for Sanskrit and Hindi readers, and is a welcome addition to the growing literature for Pali studies in India. Pandit Batuknath is a very sympathetic student of Buddhism and Pali, and his little book is the proper type of guide to Pali which can stimulate interest in Buddhistic studies in our Pandits and Shastris.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

Swapna-Sadh.—By Humayun Kabir. Published by D. M. Library, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-12.

Sathi.—By Humayun Kabir. Published by D. M. Library, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.

The two volumes of poetry which are now going through their second edition were written by Mr. Humayun Kabir during 1924-1930 while he was still a student either at Calcutta or at Oxford. The "Swapna-Sadh" and "Sathi" contain between them nearly a hundred poems, some of which are translations from English poets like Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats and Browning.

In spirit and craftsmanship Mr. Kabir's poetry bears a close affinity to Tagore's work. He is, however, entirely original in his way of looking at things. If he has no fresh ideas to communicate, he can be depended upon to tell us effectively what we know and feel without being able to express adequately. His language has an easy flow and he is often bright and distinguished in his phrasing. Mr. Kabir's primary theme is love and whatever may be the subject he chooses to write upon, it draws him on with tender despair to impart a strong personal element to his poems which become romantic and lyrical by his passion and sincerity. Mr. Kabir's ideas, so far as we can see them in his poems, appear to have been influenced by Shelley to whom he dedicates some beautiful verses. Mr. Kabir's poetry, containing as it does an undertone of sadness, reveals nevertheless a courageous spirit which believes in looking forward instead of luxuriating in sorrow which benumbs and robs one of the power to work.

Of the translations, a few have been done with great skill and success. Wordsworth's "To a Distant Friend," Shelley's "To the Night," and Keats's "La Belle Dame Sans Merci" are among the poems which Mr. Kabir has rendered in verses which preserve in a substantial measure the beauty of their originals. Shelley's "Ode to the West Wind" has also been offered in metrical garb in Bengali and the translator has shown his power in the swift passion of his verses which reincarnate as it were the spirit of the famous poem.

Mr. Kabir's two volumes of poetry will be read with genuine pleasure by all lovers of literature. The clear unaffected language in which these poems have been written is an additional attraction for those of us who fail to enjoy the metaphysical tendencies of contemporary Bengali poetry.

S. C. S.

Ourselves

[I. Tagore Law Professor for 1941.—II. A New D.Sc. (Public Health).—III. Kalyankumar Mukherjee Scholarship for 1941.—IV. National Academy of Sciences,—V. Government Sanctions Re-appointment of Ramtanu Lahiri Professor of Bengali.—VI. University Nominee on the Ramtran Gupta Prize Committee.—VII. Debendranath-Hemlata Gold Medal for 1940.—VIII. Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.—IX. Prabashi Banga Sahitya Sammilan, Allahabad.—X. Garga Samhita, a work on Hindu Astronomy.]

I. TAGORE LAW PROFESSOR FOR 1941

Sir N. N. Sircar, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, sometime Advocate-General of Bengal and Law Member to the Government of India, has been appointed Tagore Law Professor for the year 1941, to deliver a course of lectures on "The Law of Arbitration with special reference to British India."

* * *

II. A NEW D.SC. (PUBLIC HEALTH)

Mr. S. Raghavender Rao has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science (in Public Health) by a thesis entitled "Studies on the Epidemiology of Plague." Mr. Rao's written, oral and practical examination was conducted by Lt.-Col. S. S. Sokhey, M.A., B.Sc., M.D., D.T.M. & H., I.M.S., and Major C. L. Pasricha, M.A., M.B., B.Ch., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., I.M.S.

We congratulate Dr. Rao on his success.

* * *

III. KALYANKUMAR MUKHERJEE SCHOLARSHIP FOR 1941

The last date for submitting applications for the Kalyankumar Mukherjee Research Scholarship has been fixed to be the 30th June, 1941. The following subjects have been selected for investigation by candidates who wish to compete for the scholarship:—

(i) Tuberculosis as a Community Disease.

(ii) Nutritional Disease in Children up to the Age of Two.

The Scholarship was founded in 1936 for the promotion of medical research and is open only to graduates of the Calcutta University. The successful candidate will receive a non-recurring research grant of about Rs. 750 only.

* * *

IV. NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the National Academy of Sciences was held at the University Hall, Delhi, on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th February, 1941. The good wishes of this University have been conveyed to the Academy.

* * *

V. GOVERNMENT SANCTIONS RE-APPOINTMENT OF RAMTANU LAHIRI PROFESSOR OF BENGALI

The Government of Bengal has sanctioned the re-appointment of Rai Khagendranath Mitra, Bahadur, M.A., as Ramtanu Lahiri Professor of Bengali from 1st March, 1941 to 31st May, 1942.

Professor Mitra has held the Chair since 1932.

* * *

VI. UNIVERSITY NOMINEE ON THE RAMPRAN GUPTA PRIZE COMMITTEE

At the request of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, the University has appointed Prof. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D., as its representative to serve on the Committee which will proceed to the selection of a suitable person for the award of the Rampran Gupta Prize.

* * *

VII. DEBENDRANATH-HEMLATA GOLD MEDAL FOR 1940

The Debendranath-Hemlata Gold Medal, which is annually awarded to the Post-Graduate student who passes his final examination

(M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D., D.Sc., M.D., D.L., M.L., M.O., or M.S.), with the best of health, has been awarded to Mr. Sunil Krishna Dutt, M.D. The award is for the year 1940.

* * *

VIII. IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

At the request of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi, to select a suitable Animal Geneticist for inclusion in its Animal Breeding Committee, our University has forwarded the name of Dr. S. P. Raychaudhuri, a Lecturer in the University College of Science.

Our University has given its consent to the appointment of Prof. S. P. Agharkar as a member of the Botanical Committee under the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi.

* * *

IX. PRABASHI BANGA SAHITYA SAMMILAN, ALLAHABAD

Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A., has been nominated as the respresentative of this University on the Examination Board of the Prabashi Banga Sahitya Sammilan, Allahabad.

* * *

X. GARGA SAMHITA, A WORK ON HINDU ASTRONOMY

Our University is making arrangements for making copies of two manuscripts of "Garga Samhita," an unpublished work on Hindu Astronomy, one available in the Sanskrit College Library, Calcutta, and the other in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. The work goes back to the period between 1400 B. C. and 500 A. D. and has great historical significance owing to the light which it will throw on the development of Hindu Astronomy independent of Babylonian and Greek influences.

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I. INDIAN CULTURE

A Study of the Vedanta, being a study at once critical, comparative and constructive, by Dr. Sarojkumar Das, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.), with a Foreword by Prof. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, M.A., D.Litt. Second Edition. Demy 8vo pp. xiv + 404. 1937. Rs. 4-0.

" The author insists upon a co-operation of the intellectual and the moral, and emphasises the practical attitude of the philosophy of life as incorporated in the Vedanta. His arguments are clear and precise, his descriptions vivid and full of meaning, his language fluent and expressive. His knowledge of Western philosophy is such as to make him fully competent for the task of giving a systematic and comparative historical study of the Vedanta. . . ."—*The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*

" A very clear analysis, by a leading Indian thinker, of the philosophical system known as the Vedānta. . . . Dr. S. K. Das well sustains the pre-eminence of Indian thought in the world of philosophy."—*The Times Literary Supplement.*

" This book, made up of the twelve Sreegopal Basumallik Fellowship Lectures for 1929, gives a very clear analysis of the Vedānta. Dr. S. K. Das brings out the fact that the change from the Rigvedic to the Upanishadic age had a momentous influence in the religious history of mankind. It meant ' a spiritual renaissance in ancient India that can be compared with the transition from the bondage of Leviticus to the freedom of the Gospels.' "—*The Inquirer.*

" The Basumallik Fellowship Lectures for 1929 delivered by Dr. Das have been published in the form of the attractive volume before us. . . . A sound knowledge of European Philosophy in its most recent developments has been fully utilised for the purpose of comparative and critical exposition. The book will, without a doubt, be appreciated by all students of Advaita Vedānta."—*The Indian Review.*

" Your criticism and appreciation of Bertrand Russell's ' Free Man's Worship ' seems to me exceptionally good. I hope it may have wide circulation as it deserves."—*Prof. J. H. Muirhead.*

" The learned author's attempt to assign to Systematic Vedanta its proper place in the history of human thought is characterised by great acumen and eloquent penetration, and it is sure to interest every serious student of General Philosophy."—*Prof. Sten Konow.*

" Such a just and perceptive guide as Dr. Das is . . . . of great value and the more so to Western students because he is intimate with European philosophy . . . . we could not wish for a more clarifying or enlightening guide from the valleys of the Rigveda in which ' the Many ' predominates over ' the One ' to the ultimate heights of the Upanishads where ' the One ' exists eternally unconditioned by ' the Many.' "—*Hugh I. A. Fausset.*

The Aryan Trail in Iran and India, by Nagendranath Ghose, M.A., B.L. Demy 8vo pp. 347. Rs. 3-8.

The matters investigated in this book formed the subject of a course of University Extension Lectures which the author delivered in the Department of Anthropology of this University. This is a naturalistic study of the Vedic hymns and the Avesta.

Pragaitihasik Mahenjo Daro (*in Bengali*), by Mr. Kunjagovinda Goswami, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 186. Rs. 2-8.

The book contains a detailed description of the antiquities and annals of the pre-historic Mahenjo Daro, a relic of Indian civilization, five thousand years before. A vivid commentary with illustration on the life of the people living in the Indus Valley at the time with minute analysis and exposition of their customs and rituals, their culture and civilization, their mode of living, etc., will be found in the book. *This is the first book written in Bengali about Mahenjo Daro.*

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor, University of Dacca : 'I have gone through your book on Mohenjo-Daro with great interest. You have given a very clear but critical account of the many interesting finds in Mohenjo-Daro. Your book conveys in a very clear language an intesting picture of the civilisation that flourished in the Indus Valley about five thousand years ago. I welcome the book as a very valuable addition to Bengali literature, and many people not sufficiently acquainted with English would, I am sure, derive great benefit from your book."

Cultural Relations between India and Java (*Readership Lectures*), by A. J. Bernet Kempers, Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 35. As. 8.

Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma, by Niharranjan Ray, M.A. (Cal.), Dr. Lett. et Phil. (Leiden), Dip. Lib. (Lond.). 1936. Rs. 2-0.

Attempts have been made in this book to explain one of the many aspects of the culture-complex of early Indo-Burmese history; at the same time it seeks to initiate another chapter in the history of the expansion of Indian religions and culture outside India's natural geographical boundaries.

The subject is but little known, and very little has so far been done to elucidate the vague general ideas that exist today amongst scholars about it. A large number of original sources and source-materials have here been brought to light for the first time; there will be found many instances where new interpretations of old materials have been put forward. Thus the author has been able to infer the prevalence of the Sarvastivada in Old Prome, the definite existence of Mahayanist and Tantrik texts in the monastic libraries of Upper Burma, and of hitherto unrecognised representations of gods and goddesses belonging to the Mahayana and its allied pantheons.

" . . . your work is far in advance of mine......"—*G. E. Harvey, I.C.S. (retd.), Professor of Burmese, Oxford University, and author of History of Burma.*

" . . . has by a thorough and reliable research laid a solid foundation for our knowledge of and insight into the position of Buddhism in Burma in relation to that in Indo-China and Indonesia......"—*N. J. Krom, Professor of Indo-Javanese History and Archæology, Leiden University.*

" . . . a conscientious and well-informed scholar......you have shown in it a marked ability for historical research......above all you have shown a remarkable degree of judgment and caution in drawing your conclusions... your book may be regarded as an important contribution to our knowledge."—*J. Ph. Vogel, Prof. of Indian History and Archæology, University of Leiden.*

Paniniya-Siksa or the Śikṣā-Vedāṅga ascribed to Pānini, edited by Mr. Manomohan Ghosh, M.A., Kavyatirtha, of the Calcutta University. Demy 8vo pp. lxvi + 90 (*bound in cloth*). 1938. Rs. 3-0.

This text being the most ancient work on Vedic (Indo-Aryan) phonetics (*Śikṣā*) has been critically edited in all its five recensions with an introduction, translation and notes together with its two commentaries. In the introduction the editor discusses among other things briefly the evolution of the six branches of auxiliary Vedic studies known as the six Vedāngas and has treated in full the origin and development of the study of Phonetics (*Śikṣā*) which has been considered one of the important branches of modern Linguistics. Besides this the editor discusses here the antiquity of Pāṇini and throws some fresh light on the date of this great grammarian who is supposed to be the author of the *Śikṣā*.

II. ANCIENT INDIAN TEXTS

* **Vedic Selections,** edited by a Board of eminent scholars. Royal 8vo pp. lvii + 449. 1938. Rs. 5-0.

Manu Smriti, by Mahamahopadhyay Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt.

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* Text-book.

The work is an English translation of the commentary of Medhatithi on the Institutes of Manu. The two editions that had already been published, *viz.*, one by V. N. Mandlik and the other by G. R. Gharpure, being considered avowedly defective on account of a hopeless muddling of the text, Dr. Jha collected manuscripts from various places; and, with the help of these manuscripts, made out an intelligible text, and then proceeded with the work of translation.

Vol. I, Part I—Comprising Discourse I and 28 verses of Discourse II. Royal 8vo pp. 266. 1920. Rs. 6.

Vol. I, Part II—Comprising verses XXIX to end of Discourse II. Royal 8vo pp. 290. 1921. Rs. 6.

Vol. II, Part I—Comprising the whole of Discourse III. Royal 8vo pp. 304. 1921. Rs. 6.

Vol. II, Part II—Comprising Discourse IV. Royal 8vo pp. 208. 1921. Rs. 6.

Index to Vols. I and II. Royal 8vo pp. 148. 1922. Re. 1-8.

Vol. III, Part I—Comprising Discourses V and VI. Royal 8vo pp. 278. 1922. Rs. 6.

Vol. III, Part II—Comprising Discourse VII and the Index to the whole of Vol. III. Royal 8vo pp. 206. 1924. Rs. 7.

Vol. IV, Part I—Comprising a portion of Discourse VIII. Royal 8vo pp. 252. 1925. Rs. 8.

Vol. IV, Part II—Comprising Discourse VIII and Index to Vol. IV. Royal 8vo pp. 238. 1926. Rs. 7-8.

Vol. V—Comprising Discourses IX to XII. Royal 8vo pp. 709. 1926. Rs. 12-8.

Manu Smriti, Notes, ***by the same author.***

Besides printing the five volumes of Manu Smriti comprising translation of Medhatithi, it was decided to print separate volumes comprising *Notes* by the same author. The notes have been divided into three parts: Part I—*Textual*—dealing with the readings of the texts and allied matters; Part II—*Explanatory*—containing an account of the various explanations of Manu's text, provided not only by its several commentators, but also by the more important of the legal digests, such as the Mitakshara, the Mayukha, and the rest; Part III—*Comparative*—setting forth what the other Smritis—Apastamba, Bodhayana, etc.—have got to say on every one of the more important topics dealt with by Manu.

Part I—*Textual.* Royal 8vo pp. 569. 1924. Rs. 12-0.

Part II—*Explanatory.* Royal 8vo pp. 870. 1925. Rs. 15-0.

Part III—*Comparative.* Royal 8vo pp. 937. 1929. Rs. 15.

Whole Set (*including Notes*). Rs. 50.

Inscriptions of Asoka, by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, and S. N. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Asst. Professor of Indian History, Calcutta University. Crown 8vo pp. 104. 1920. Rs. 4-4.

The various texts of the rock, pillar, cave and other inscriptions are given in parallel lines to enable the student to compare the different readings at a glance.

Barhut Inscriptions, edited and translated with critical notes, by B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.), and Kumar Gangananda Sinha, M.A. Crown 4to pp. 139. 1926. Rs. 3-0.

E. J. Thomas, Under-Librarian, Cambridge University Library: "I find the book an extremely useful one, both because it makes accessible an important collection of inscriptions, and also for the great amount of learning and research which the authors have embodied in it.

"The work constitutes a long step forward both as regards our actual knowledge of the inscriptions, as well as in the grammatical analysis and the palaeographical studies."

H. Ui, of the Tohoku Imperial University, Japan: "......In the work the inscriptions are critically investigated, accurately explained and well arranged, so that the work is highly important for the study of the paleographical and linguistical development and specially the history of early Buddhism."

E. Washburn Hopkins, of the Yale University: "I have gone carefully through the volume of Dr. Benimadhab Barua and regard it as a most useful contribution well worthy of publication. The arrangement of the inscriptions in accord with their subject-matter is a great convenience and the explanatory notes are all that can be desired."

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Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves, by Prof. Benimadhab Barua, M.A., D.Lit. Royal 8vo pp. 324. Rs. 7-8.

A critical edition of fourteen ancient Brahmi inscriptions and a table of Brahmi alphabet, the inscriptions including the well-known Hathigumpha inscription of King Kharavela. A comprehensive work which contains exhaustive references to all previous publications on the subject, and is calculated to create a real landmark for the new readings, and especially for the notes dealing with the personal history of Kharavela of Orissa, his place in history, and his imperishable works of art and architecture in the rough-hewn Orissan caves on the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Hills.

III. ART AND ICONOGRAPHY

Vishnudharmottara, by Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Ph.D. *Second and Revised Edition.* Royal 8vo pp. 130. 1928. Rs. 3-0.

It contains one of the oldest and most exhaustive treatises on ancient Indian painting, its technique, subject-matter and form.

Art and Archæology Abroad, by Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Paris). Demy 8vo pp. 132+20 illustrations. Rs. 2-0.

The author who had been invited by the International Educational Institute (under the Carnegie Foundation, New York) to deliver a course of lectures on Indian Art and Archæology during 1930-31 visited the important centres of Europe and America and studied the special arrangements and provisions for the collection and co-ordination of the data of arts and archæology as well as the methods of teaching of those subjects in some of those places. The outcome of these studies undertaken by him is this useful report which is of immense help to the students as well as the teachers of this branch of Indology.

Brahmanical Gods in Burma (A chapter of Indian Art and Iconography), by Niharranjan Ray, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 106, with 23 plates. 1932. Rs. 2-4.

This monograph is an outcome of the studies and researches made by the author in the domain of Burmese Art, Archaeology and History. The materials were collected by him during the archæological tours that he had made throughout Burma in 1927 and 1929. He has made a detailed analytical study of the numerous Brahmanical images scattered all over the Peninsula and has tried to bring out fully their iconographic significance and their bearing upon early Indo-Burmese historical and cultural relations.

" . . . He describes images of Visnu, Siva, Brahma, Ganesa and Surya, and the well-reproduced photographs are all the more valuable through his descriptions being based upon the actual objects. In particular his chapter on the art and historical background is well worthy of study."—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (*London*).

" Burma is professedly Buddhist, but in this monograph the author examines how far, in spite of its Buddhism, Burma has been affected by its contiguity with India, and to what extent it has submitted to the powerful pressure of Brahmanism. . . Despite the scanty harvest gleaned with such industry in this field of study the work was well worth undertaking, and the author has dealt competently with his material and advances reasons why Brahmanism, which had success in Further India, failed to make itself felt nearer at hand. There is likely to be little disagreement with the general conclusions which are presented clearly and succintly."—*Times Literary Supplement* (*London*).

" . . . The book is the first of its kind written by an Indian scholar, and we can well say that he has performed his task creditably . . . is certainly a successful attempt at elucidating an important aspect of early cultural relations between India and Burma."—*The Indian Historical Quarterly* (*Calcutta*).

" Ce petit volume est une première tentative pour rassembler les donnees dont on dispose sur l'iconographie brahmanique de la Birmanie. . ."—*Bulletin L'Ecole Francaise de Extreme Orient* (*Hanoi*, *Fr. Indo-China*).

" . . . Burma chapter of Hindu colonial history has long been neglected. We welcome the beginning made by Mr. Ray."—*K. P. Jayaswal in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (*Patna*).

" . . . He has collected an amount of important facts hitherto ignored and scattered, and dealt with them in a critical and thoughtful manner, which deserves the highest appreciation."—*M. Louis Finot* (*Paris*).

" . . . The book is not only a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Indian Art and Iconography, but it is also historically important as showing the influence of Hindu religion and Hindu culture in Burma in mediaeval times."—*E. J. Rapson* (*Cambridge*).

" . . . It seems to me to be a very good and enlightening piece of original research which breaks new ground. . ."—*L. D. Barnett* (*British Museum, London*).

" . . . I have found it to be a very creditable and useful work that adds a great deal to our knowledge of Indo-Burmese Art and Archaeology. . . I request you to convey to the learned author my sincere compliments on the scholar-like spirit exhibited in his study. . ."—*Sten Konow* (*Oslo, Norway*) *in a letter to the Registrar, Calcutta University.*

" . . . It is a very interesting and instructive book, and all the more valuable as it treats in a scholarly manner of a new subject of which hitherto very little has become known."—*M. Winternitz* (*Prague, Czechoslovakia*).

" . . . I have read the work with real pleasure. It is clear and effectively written, and the main conclusions attained as to the position of Brahmanism in Burma seem to be successfully maintained. . ."—*A. Berriedale Keith* (*Edinburgh*).

" . . . The book deals with an almost untrodden subject. . . . It deals not only with the images of gods and goddesses from iconographical point of view but also throws a great deal of light on the nature and spread of Brahmanism in that country. The author has gone into the subject very deeply and his treatment seems to be exhaustive and complete. It is a welcome addition to our knowledge about the progress of Brahmanical religion outside India proper. . ."—*R. C. Majumdar* (*Dacca University*).

Prefaces (Lectures on Art subjects), by Prof. Shahid Suhrawardy. Demy 8vo pp. 273. Rs. 3-0.

Most of these papers are lectures read out by the author to students at various intervals at the Osmania University, the Visvabharati, the Lucknow Exhibition, 1936 (Fine Arts Pavilion) and at other places.

IV. HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY

I. ANCIENT INDIA

Chronology of Ancient India (From the times of the Rig-Vedic King Divodāsa to Chandragupta Maurya, with glimpses into the Political History of the period), by Sitanath Pradhan, M.Sc., Ph.D., Brihaspati. Royal 8vo pp. 291+30. 1927. Rs. 6-0.

In this extremely interesting and erudite work on the Chronology and Political History of Vedic and Buddhist India, enormous masses of evidence derived from Vedic, Epic, Puranic, Buddhistic, Jain, Epigraphic and other sources have been collected, compared and contrasted. The late Dr. Pradhan discovered the long-expected thread through the bewildering labyrinth of Vedic Chronology and handled the question of Nanda-Sisunāga-Pradyota-Bimbisārian Chronology and political history perhaps with the most accurate critical skill and precision. This pioneer work, completed in 1921, was submitted to the University of Calcutta as his Doctorate thesis and contains entirely new findings in almost every page of the book and the criticisms of the positions of Pargiter, Macdonell, Keith, Tilak, K. P. Jayaswal, Abinash Chandra Das, D. R. Bhandarkar, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Fleet, etc., reflect a high credit on the author. It is an invaluable and indispensable companion and guide to all students, professors and lovers of Ancient Indian History and Culture.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee : ' An erudite thesis,' ' of no small credit,' ' of much excellence,' ' of special excellence,' ' extremely gratifying to note,' ' such a learned thesis,' ' has thrown unexpected yet welcome light on the political history of the Pre-Asokan Period,' . ' original research of unquestionable merit,' ' appraised by the investigators of the first rank,' etc., etc.

MM. Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University : " It is refreshing to find that the writer has not......been slow to strike out new lines for himself and examine theories which had hitherto been regarded as almost sacrosanct."

Dr. M. Winternitz, Ph.D., Prague, Czechoslovakia : " The ancient chronology of India is a thorny subject, and the book will, no doubt, evoke much criticism. But the author has brought together valuable data from a vast amount of literature which will remain useful, even if the chronology may not be accepted by scholars in many cases."

T. Jolly, Professor of Sanskrit, Würzburg, Germany : " This is a very learned work, abounding in new theories and discussions of old ones and in original Sanskrit quotations. The author has found that most of the Kings and Rishis of the Rigveda are mentioned in the Epics and the Puranas, etc., as well, and has based a new chronology of the Rigvedic Period on this observation. His genealogies of Indian dynasties are very interesting."

Dr. L. D. Barnett, Ph.D., London : " Mr. Pradhan's object is to correct and as far as possible to bring into synchronistic connection the ancient pedigrees of Kings and others which are handed down in Vedic, Epic and Puranic literature. . . . He deals accordingly with the Vedic Divodāsa, his contemporaries, the Aikṣvāka Daśaratha, etc., . . . and he then essays to determine the succession in Magadha from Bimbisāra to Chandragupta. On the basis of these conclusions and reckoning an average of 28 years for a generation he fixes the Mahābhārata war at *c.* 1152 B.C. confirming the result by astronomical calculations, and makes *c.* 1500 B.C. the starting point of the later Vedic period. . . . He moreover demolishes the Vedic Chronology of Dr. A. C. Das and even criticizes unfavourably the astronomical arguments set forth by the late Lokamanya Tilak in his *Orion*—which shows much courage and independence. His work shows immense industry and ingenuity and there is certainly ' something in it.' . . . The attempt to adjust and harmonise the traditional pedigrees is worth making and Mr. Pradhan's essay is an energetic step in that direction."

Dr. L. D. Barnett (again) : " The book ' Chronology of Ancient India ' seems to me to be a remarkably able work and its general conclusions are reasonable and probable, though, naturally there may be some difference of opinion on some points."

Prof. Vanamali Chakravarti, M.A. : " Your work would do credit to any European savant working in a first-class European university. . . The honour of writing the first scientific book on Vedo-Puranic Chronology belongs to you and not to Pargiter. . . I note with great pleasure your happy identification of the Rigvedic Rishi Mudgala (Rv. X, 102) with the husband of Indrasenā, the daughter of King Nala of Niṣadha; and of Divodāsa, King of Kāsi with Atithigva Divodāsa of the Vedas, who together with the Aikṣvāka Daśaratha, quelled the Dāsa King Sambara; your resolution of the Ikṣvāku dynasty from Daśaratha downwards, into two branches pointing out that kings mentioned just after Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya, were the descendants of the Srāvasti King Lava is a masterpiece in the reconstruction of Ancient Indian History; your determination of the date of the great Bhārata battle at about the middle of the twelfth century B.C. and of events of the Rāmāyaṇa as occurring about three hundred years earlier would provide the future historian with sources to build up ancient Indian Chronology. . . . Your assignment of Vedic Janaka and Yājñavalkya to five generations after Srikrishṇa and Arjuna seems beyond challenge. Your attempt to prove that a portion of the Deccan was occupied by the Rigvedic Aryans, and that Aṅga, Kośala, Magadha, Videha, etc., were colonized by them rather early, your explanation of the mythology of Ahalyā and Indra, your emendation of not a few individual errors in some of the names of Puranic kings, notably in the name ' Abhijit,' your bold and well-established finding that the Harivaṁśa does contain wrong synchronism about Brahmadatta and Pratipa, and that the Purāṇas are wrong in making Kṛta of Dvimīḍha's line the pupil of Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya—these and many other points will be of absorbing interest to scholars. I immensely enjoy your courageous refutation of ' the Orion ' as well as of Mr. A. C. Das's geological antiquity of the Rigvedic period which might be based on N. B. Pavjee's book ' Aryavartic Home.' In the post-Vedic period, your identification of Siśunāga with Nandivardhana and of Kākavarṇa with Mahā-Nandin is really difficult to reject. I am sure no honest historian will be able in future to pass by your great production."

Asoka (*Carmichael Lectures, 1923*), by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B. Second Edition, *Revised and Enlarged*. Demy 8vo pp. 428. 1932. Rs. 5-0.

In this book the author has set forth his views about the Buddhist monarch after a careful and systematic study for a quarter of a century not only of the inscriptions of Asoka but also of the valuable translations and notes on these records by distinguished scholars in the field of Ancient Indian History.

Dr. Truman Michelson says in *Jour. Amer. Ori. Soc.*, Vol. 46, pp. 258-59 :—

" In this connection it may be observed that the notes on the translations are ordinarily very full, so that even the publication of the new edition of C.I.I. will not render this part of Bhandarkar's work superfluous; and it cannot be denied that occasionally he has made real contributions in the interpretation (*e.g.*, the sense of *samāja*)."

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar says in *An. Bhan. Ori. Res. Ins.*, Vol. VII, p. 169 :—

" A careful perusal of the book enables one to visualise the pious Monarch and his manifold religious and administrative activities to a much better extent than had been hitherto possible with the Aśokan literature already in the field."

Political History of Ancient India (From the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty), by Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. Fourth Edition, *Revised and Enlarged.* Royal 8vo pp. xxiii + 582, with maps and charts. 1938. Rs. 7-8.

Dr. Raychaudhuri's work in the domain of Indology is characterised by a rare sobriety of judgment and by a constant reference to original sources and this makes his contributions specially valuable. We have here probably the first attempt on scientific lines to sketch the political history of India including the pre-Buddhistic period from about the ninth century B.C., and the work is one of great importance to students of Indian history. The revised edition embodies the results of the most recent researches in the subject. An interesting feature of this work is the insertion in certain chapters of introductory verses from literature to show that poets and sages of Ancient India were not altogether unmindful of the political vicissitudes through which their country passed.

Professor W. Geiger, Munchen (Germany) : " I highly appreciate Mr. Raychaudhuri's work as a most happy combination of sound scientific method and enormous knowledge of both Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical literature. The work is written in lucid style in spite of its intricate subject and affords a mass of valuable evidence throwing much light on the whole period of Indian History dealt within it. I see with special pleasure and satisfaction that we are now enabled by the author's penetrating researches to start in Indian Chronology from the 9th instead of the 6th or 5th century B.C."

Professor Hultzsch, Halle (Germany) : " The Political History of Ancient India is the outcome of extensive researches and throws much light on the darkest and most debated periods of Indian history."

Prof. J. Jolly, Würzburg (Germany) : ".........What an enormous mass of evidence has been collected and discussed in this work, an important feature of which is the quotation of the original texts along with their translation which makes it easy to control the conclusions arrived at. The ancient geography not less than the ancient history of India has been greatly furthered by your researches and much new light has been thrown on some of the most vexed problems of Indian Archæology and Chronology. ...."

Prof. F. Otto Schrader (Germany) : " I have read the book with increasing interest and do not hesitate to say that it contains a great many details which will be found useful by later historians........."

Prof. A. Berriedale Keith (Edinburgh) : " The work may justly be deemed a most valuable contribution to the subject-matter of which it treats."

Dr. L. D. Barnett (London) : " The author.........preserves throughout a well-balanced judgment and never sacrifices critical caution to the passion for novel theories."

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